THE WESTERN CONTRIBUTION TO BUDDHISM

WILLIAM PEIRIS

The Buddhists of Asia owe a great debt of gratitude to Western Scholars for their massive contribution to Buddhist scholarship. But hitherto there had been no consolidated account of this contribution. The present book remedies this serious deficiency in our knowledge of Buddhist endeavours in the West.

The book is divided into eleven chapters which deal, in an integrated manner, with the facts of the growth and spread of Buddhism in the occident. It gives biographical sketches of almost all the western scholars—Rhys Davids, Max Muller, Oldenberg, Sylvan Levi, Poussin, Kern, Stcherbatsky and others—who over a period of one and a half centuries have made a distinct contribution towards the furtherance of Buddhist thought. It also takes into account the impact of these scholars on the modern western thought. 'This fascinating chronicle,' in the words of Dr. Saddhatissa, 'should become a text-book for all, wishing to pursue a study of Buddhist history.' With 42 illustrations

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The Western Contribution to Buddhism

WILLIAM PEIRIS

With A Foreword by

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DEDICATED TO ALL WESTERN SCHOLARS
OF BUDDHISM IN APPRECIATION OF
THEIR SERVICE TO THE CAUSE

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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The author is also grateful to various authors whose names and titles of their works appear in the text and footnotes of this book in connection with quotations and paraphrases from their books.

FOREWORD

William Peiris has devoted his life to literary pursuits in Ceylon, fulfilling the positions of journalist, editor, writer, and radio broadcaster. More than this, he has done much to awaken an interest in Buddhism from the angle of Western contributors in this vast field.

Last year his paperback on Sir Edwin Arnold – torchbearer of Buddhism to the West by means of his epic poem, *The Light of Asia*—was published by the world-famous Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy, Ceylon.

Due, no doubt, to the formidable nature of the research that would be entailed, no one has yet compiled as comprehensive a work as the present one. It is true that some biographical sketches appeared at the end of 2500 *Years of Buddhism*, published by the Government of India to commemorate the Buddha Jayanti Year, 1956, but those were largely confined to Pāli and Sanskrit scholars, including analyses of texts edited or translated by them. The multitude of names normally associated with the growth, spread and knowledge of Buddhism in the Occident was thus omitted.

The present work, therefore, remedies a serious deficiency in our knowledge of Buddhist endeavours in Europe and North America. The author clearly deserves our admiration and respect for the great efforts that have been undertaken to complete this thesis. No doubt, individual biographies were to be had for the mere asking, but, nevertheless, most writers would have found the task of compilation from numberless sources too daunting even to consider. There is no doubt in my mind that the author's dedication to the *Buddhadhamma* induced him to persevere to the end.

Virtually all the Western European countries, together with the U.S.A., have made a distinct contribution towards a furtherance of Buddhist studies, and Mr. Peiris has endeavoured to include in this work almost all those concerned over a period of one and a half centuries.

A fascinating chronicle, this work should become a text-book for all wishing to pursue a study of Buddhist history.

The London Buddhist Vihāra,
London.

H. Saddhātissa

AUTHOR'S NOTE

The idea of this book originated with a friend and colleague of mine, the late M. T. Jaimon, a former editor of *The Times of Ceylon.* A Muslim by religion, he was a serious student of Buddhism and admired Western scholars of Buddhism. At his invitation I wrote an article on the Western contribution to Buddhism for his newspaper. He then suggested that I write a book on the same theme. I placed his suggestion before Miss I.B. Horner, President, Pāli Text Society, London, who readily commended it. Another distinguished orientalist, Professor G. Tucci of Rome, has also commended it.

The work involved me in considerable research. In the collection of material from Britain, the Continent, and America, I have had the generous assistance of a number of distinguished scholars, active Buddhist workers, learned societies, and other institutions. Miss Horner herself supplied me with details about some of the British scholars, obtained for me the help of a few German scholars, and made valuable suggestions, for which I offer her my most grateful thanks.

I am indebted to Mrs. Maya Keller-Grimm, daughter of George Grimm, the celebrated interpreter of Buddhism; Max Hoppe, his devoted disciple; and Mrs. Emily Knothe, all of the Altbuddhistische Gemeinde, Utting am Ammersee, Germany, for obtaining for me material about German scholars. I am specially thankful to Mrs. Knothe for her translations from the German into English.

The invaluable services rendered to me by Prof. Winston L. King of Vanderbilt University, United States, and Lt.-Col. E. F.J. Payne of Sussex, U.K., have placed me very much in their debt.

Prof. Hans Hendriksen, the then Editor of the Critical Pāli Dictionary, Denmark, detailed Mrs. Else Pauly, a distinguished member of his editorial staff, to assist me. She went out of her way to dig into past records in the big libraries of Denmark to be of assistance to me. To them I am deeply grateful.

Likewise, Prof. Wilfrid C. Smith, Head of the Department of Religion, Harvard University, detailed a don of his department, Prof. Masatoshi Nagatomi, to assist me. I am thankful to them.

I am particularly thankful to my friend, Ashley Perera of Nugegoda, Ceylon, and Dr. Brooks Wright of New York—the former for placing his magnificent library at my disposal and the latter for readily giving me permission to use his copyright material.

The others whom I desire to thank for services rendered to me are: Prof. Daniel H. H. Ingalls, Editor of the Harvard Oriental Series; Mr. H. Butterfield, Registrar, Peterhouse, Cambridge; Dr. F. H. Stubbings of Emmanuel College, Cambridge; the Ven. Nyanaponika Mahā Thera, Head of the Forest Hermitage, Kaṇdy, Ceylon; the Ven. Dr. H. Saddhātissa Mahā Thera, Head of the London Buddhist Vihāra; Mr. Russell Webb of the London Mahā Bodhi Society; Fraulein Ilse Seidenstucker, daughter of the famous Dr. Karl Seidenstucker of Leipzig, Germany; Mrs. Moodah Jaimon, widow of M. T. Jaimon, of Nugegoda, Ceylon; Mr. J. Ginige of Ambalangoda, Ceylon; Mr. D. G. S. Wanigaratne of Mt. Lavinia, Ceylon; Mr. Tikiri Dissanayake of Colombo, Ceylon; my wife, and my daughters, Mrs. I. Dharmasena, Mrs. Rohini Gunatunga, Miss Savitri Peiris, Miss Surangani Peiris, B.A. (Ceylon), and Miss Manjari Peiris, and Mr. W. B. Somaratne.

My task was made easy by my friend, Winston I. Rodrigo, who edited my script with his characteristic thoroughness. He bears no responsibility for any defects that remain.

To the publishers I owe a special debt of gratitude for their co-operation.

Finally, it must be stated that this is by no means a scholarly work. As a journalist I have written this book to place on record in an integrated form, and to communicate to as many as possible, the facts of the massive contribution of the West to the understanding of Buddhism.

Republic of Sri Lanka
1973

WILLIAM PEIRIS

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The Buddhists, particularly those of Asia, owe a great debt of gratitude to Western scholars for their massive contribution to Buddhist scholarship in the past 150 years. Had it not been for their selfless labour, Buddhism would never have been so widely known and accepted in the West.

The names of T. W. Rhys Davids and his versatile wife, Caroline Rhys Davids, Max Muller, Edwin Arnold, V. Trenckner, Hermann Oldenberg, Csoma de Koros, B. H. Hodgson, Viggo Fausball, Eugene Burnouf, Hendrik Kern, Sylvain Levi, Vallee Poussin, Henry Clarke Warren, Paul Dahlke, Nyanatiloka Maha Thera (Anton Gueth), Paul Carus, George Grimm, Karl Seidenstucker, Robert Chalmers, Karl Eugene Neumann, F. L. Woodward, Dines Andersen, Helmer Smith, E.J. Thomas and Wilhelm Geiger stand out in glory among the numerous Western scholars of the past. Innumerable other Western scholars of the present day such as Miss I. B. Horner and Edward Conze keep the torch burning. They deserve our homage.

Critics and a defender of the doctrine

Many of these scholars were non-Buddhists, but their approach to Buddhism was sympathetic and respectful. Buddhism, however, was not without its severe critics. Among them were three outstanding orientalists of the day—Monier Monier Williams, Boden Professor of Sanskrit, Oxford, Jules Barthelemy Saint-Hilaire, the French Professor, and R. Spence Hardy of the Wesleyan Mission, Ceylon. Some of the statements that these three, among others, made about the Buddha and his teachings were so outrageous that they provoked Paul Carus, the doughty champion of Buddhism in America, to write in defence a book[1] denouncing them in trenchant language. Max Muller, himself a Christian, categorically refuted Saint-Hilaire's view that Buddhism is nihilism.[2] Max Muller also made a striking statement by way of an answer to Christian missionaries who feared the existence of similarities in Buddhism and Christianity. "If I do find in certain Buddhist works doctrines identically the same as in Christianity", he wrote, "far from being frightened, I feel delighted, for surely truth is not the less true because it is believed by the majority of the human race."[3]

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[1] *Buddhism and Its Christian Critics*, Open Court, Chicago, 1894.

[2] *Selected Essays*, London, 1891.

The West began to evince interest in Buddhism in the first quarter of the 19th century, and the first book on the subject appeared in Paris in 1817. Its title was *Resherches sur Buddhou,* and its author was a Frenchman, Michel Jean Francois Ozeray. It was, however, not this book that aroused interest in Buddhism in the West.

Schopenhauer's tribute to Buddhism

The first to appreciate the appeal of Buddhism to thinking people of the West was Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860), the German philosopher, whose well expressed ideas had a great influence on intellectuals in Europe and America. He made his first allusion to Buddhism in his first edition of *The World as Will and Representation* in 1819. Rhys Davids, who began to provide English translations of the Pāli canon from 1880, was not born then. There were hardly any writings on Buddhism in any European language, nor did Schopenhauer know any Asiatic language. How then did he write what he did? He gathered something about Buddhism from Indian philosophy of which there were a few German translations. To quote his own words, his knowledge of it was based on "imperfect and inadequate accounts." But he most certainly had the capacity to grasp the essence of the doctrine even from imperfect material.

In 1844 he brought out the second edition of *The World as Will and Representation* in two volumes. By that time he had read several works on Buddhism by Russian, German, French, Danish, and British scholars. In it he paid this tribute to Buddhism: "If I wished to take the results of my philosophy as the standard of truth, I should have to concede to Buddhism pre-eminence over the others. In any case, it must be a pleasure to me to see my doctrine in such close agreement with a religion that the majority of men on earth hold as their own, for this

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3. *Selected Essays*, London, 1891.

numbers far more followers than any other. And this agreement must be yet the more pleasing to me, inasmuch as in my philosophizing I have certainly not been under its influence."[4]

Subsequently, he expressed the view that C. P. Koppen's book, *Religion of the Buddha* (1857) "best brought out together all the facts known of Buddhism."

The earliest known European to come to the East to study Pāli was R.K. Rask, the eminent Danish scholar,[5] in whose memory the Rask Foundation has been created in Copenhagen. He came out to Ceylon in 1821, six years after Ceylon was ceded to the British. He studied not only Pāli, but also Sinhalese, and acquired a rich collection of palm-leaf manuscripts which today forms part of the Rask Collection in the Royal Danish Academy. On his return home he wrote a Pāli grammar based on *Bālāvatāra* with a few reading texts for beginners, but it was not published.

The Buddha's biography was published for the first time in the West in 1825 in the *Asiatic Journal* edited by Julius Klaproth. Its author was a Russian scholar, Issak Jacob Schmidt of St. Petersburg.

From Hungary to Tibet—on foot

A young Hungarian's hazardous journey to the East in search of the original home of his race led to his studying Buddhism and making a distinct contribution to it in the West. He was Alexander Csoma de Koros (1784-1842). He left home in 1819 on his long journey on foot with a stick in his hand, a knap sack on his back and only 200 florins in his pocket. His plan was to travel through India and Western Tibet to his final goal—Inner Asia. But that he failed to reach.

The turning point in de Koros's life came when he met in India an English explorer and a British government agent named Moorcroft. The latter soon realized that in de Koros he had found a man of extraordinary mental powers matched by a dauntless will, a man who could not only undertake difficult intellectual feats but could also overcome extreme physical hard-ship. The British Indian Government was then in urgent need of such a man who could enter Tibet and study the Tibetan language. De Koros accepted the Indian Government's offer made through Moorcroft and went to Ladakh where he studied Tibetan, and compiled a grammar and dictionary of the Tibetan language.

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[4] *The World as Will and Representation*, Vol. 2, New York edition, 1966.

[5] *Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Denmark, 1940.

It was de Koros who first mastered the Tibetan language, read its literature and thus made a discovery of the utmost importance in the scientific world. But for all this he was paid a mere Rs. 50/- a month.

The canonisation of de Koros

The Indian Government had in the meantime discovered the manuscripts of a Tibetan grammar and dictionary left behind by a German missionary. They thought that they could do without the help of de Koros, and so they withdrew his allowance.

But soon they found that the work of the German missionary was far less valuable than they had expected. And once again they were obliged to turn to de Koros.

At the invitation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, he went to Calcutta and prepared his manuscripts for the press. His work, the first authoritative Tibetan grammar and Tibetan-English dictionary, was published in 1834. The whole scientific world acknowledged it as a great contribution to learning. Many learned societies elected him to their membership.

His analysis of the *Kanjur*, the Tibetan Buddhist canon, appeared in the *Asiatic Researches*, Calcutta, in 1834. Translated into French by M. Leon Feer, it was published in the *Annales du Musee Guimet*.

He died in Darjeeling in 1842.

He was "canonized" in Japan as a Bodhisattva, or aspirant to Buddhahood, in 1933 in recognition of the fact that he "opened the heart of the Western world to the understanding of Buddhism."

Another Westerner who made a valuable contribution to Buddhism was B. H. Hodgson, British Resident-General in Nepal, between 1821 and 1845. He made a vast collection of Sanskrit Buddhist texts which he presented to the libraries of London, Paris, and Calcutta. He contributed several articles on topics connected with his collection for the *Asiatic Researches*, Calcutta, and the *Transactions* of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, in 1828.

King Asoka's words deciphered

Eugene Burnouf, the French orientalist, who was the first to make a systematic and scientific study of Buddhism in the West, based his history of Buddhism[6] on Hodgson's collection sent to Paris. He dedicated the work to Hodgson, describing him as "the true founder of the study of Indian Buddhism."

The existence of Pāli was little known outside Ceylon, Burma, and Thailand until 1826, when Burnouf, in collaboration with Christian Lassen, the German orientalist, brought out his scholarly work, *Essai sur le Pāli.*

James Prinsep, an archaeologist and an officer of the Calcutta Mint, deciphered King Asoka's rock inscriptions in 1834. The *Mahāvaṁsa*, the great chronicle of Ceylon, where the name of King Piyadassi occurs, was the clue to his identification of Piyadassi as Asoka.

An important event occurred in 1837 when George Turnour of the Ceylon Civil Service published his translation of the first 38 chapters of the 100 chapters of the *Mahāvaṁsa* with a few discourses of the Buddha recorded in the Pāli canon. Professor Rhys Davids has described it as "the foundation of all Pāli scholarship."

While serving in the Civil Service, Turnour came in contact with a learned Buddhist monk from whom he learnt Pāli and Sinhalese. He read the Pāli *Mahāvaṁsa*, and it did not take him long to realize its importance not only to Ceylon but to the West as well. So he decided to translate it into English. For ten long years he persevered with the great task, guided by his tutor, the scholar-monk, and brought out his combined edition. The publication created no little interest in the West.

First Pāli text in the West

The Danish scholar, N. L. Westerguard, who travelled widely in the East, published his well-known *Catalogus* in 1840.

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[6] *Introduction a L'Historie Du Bouddhisme Indien*, Paris, 1844.

He was more interested in Eastern history, particularly the *Mahāvaṁsa*, than in Buddhist canonical works. But he encouraged Viggo Fausball to take up the study of the Pāli *Dhammapada* and the *Jātaka*.

The first Pāli text to be published in the West was Prof. Frederich Spiegel's *Anecdota Pālica* which appeared in Leipzig in 1848. It was, however, not a full Pāli text, but only the *Uraga Vagga* of the *Sutta Nipāta*, with a German translation and notes. It was not printed in Roman script but in Devanāgari characters.

The credit for the publication of a full Pāli text in Roman script for the first time in the West goes to Denmark—Viggo Fausball's edition of the Pāli *Dhammapada* with a Latin translation. It was published in 1855.

Subsequently, Fausball brought out his voluminous *Jātaka* edition and the translation of the *Sutta Nipāta*.

The Pāli-English Dictionary by Robert Childers, which came out in 1875, gave a great impetus to Pāli studies in the West. Childers was in the Ceylon Civil Service before Rhys Davids. Like the latter, he was interested in Buddhism in Ceylon. His untimely death was a grievous loss to Buddhism.

The Light of Asia spreads far and wide

Buddhism became widely known in the West by the publication in 1879 of Sir Edwin Arnold's beautiful poem, *The Light of Asia*. It achieved a phenomenal success. The sale of the book exceeded a million copies in Europe and America, its circulation being wider than that of any other book on Buddhism.

Rhys Davids founded the Pāli Text Society in London in 1881. It is the biggest contribution the West has made to Buddhism. He enlisted the support and co-operation of eminent scholars both of the West and the East for the work of the Society, which he served with love and devotion for over forty years. Upon his death in 1922, his wife succeeded him as President of the Society and conducted its affairs as efficiently as her husband. The next President of the Society was William Stede, the philologist, and close collaborator and friend of Rhys Davids. The mantle of Rhys Davids and Caroline Rhys Davids has now fallen on Miss I. B. Horner who had known the Rhys Davids intimately from her girlhood. She continues the great work with the utmost devotion and efficiency.

Of the several places of Buddhist worship in Britain, the most popular is the London Buddhist Vihāra located at 5, Heathfield Gardens, London W 4. Here, headed by the Ven. Dr. H. Saddhātissa Mahā Thera, the pious and erudite Ceylon monk, Buddhist monks from Ceylon, and occasionally some from Burma, minister to the spiritual needs of Buddhists. The Buddhist Society in London is an active body. Its President, Christmas Humphreys, who describes himself as "a world Buddhist", is the author of some dozen books on Buddhist themes, including Zen, the Far Eastern interpretation of Buddhism.

Buddhism studied and practised

In Germany, the study and practice of Buddhism is done with proverbial thoroughness. The name of Hermann Oldenberg stands out prominently as an early worker in the field of Pāli Buddhism. Karl Eugene Neumann, who regarded the old commentators on Buddhism as "idiotic nitwits", translated the bulk of the Pāli canon into German. Wilhelm Geiger made a name as the translator of the *Mahāvaṁsa* and *Cūlavaṁsa*, besides his great contributions to Sinhalese language and literature. Paul Dahlke, George Grimm, Karl Seidenstucker, and Frederich Zimmermann were not only authors of Buddhist works but also led the Buddhist way of life, propagating the Buddha's teachings in their fatherland.

Germany has centres in principal cities and towns for the study and practice of Buddhism. Meditation is widely practised. The Buddhist temple in Berlin is popular. So is the Altibuddhistische Gemeinde, the Old Buddhist Community, in Utting am Ammersee in Upper Bavaria.

France concentrates on the Mahāyāna. The foremost worker in this field was Sylvain Levi, who discovered and published rare Mahāyāna texts with their translations. The French tradition is successfully continued today by a clever pupilary succession. The Buddhist Society in Paris, which concentrated on Pāli Buddhism, has ceased to exist.

Belgium too concentrates on the Mahāyāna. The great Belgian professor Louis de la Vallee Poussin belonged to the

French School of Sylvain Levi. His pupil Etienne Lamotte is a brilliant translator of the Mahāyāna Sanskrit texts into French.

From Denmark—a Critical Pāli Dictionary

A great centre of Pāli philology all along, Denmark has been engaged in compiling a *Critical Pāli Dictionary* since the end of the last century. The work initiated by V. Trenckner is so colossal that it will take another eighteen years to complete. So far only two volumes consisting of some eighteen fascicules have been published. Danish authors have brought out some fifty books on Buddhism, but the number of practising Buddhists in Denmark is small.

Leyden University in Holland has for long been famous for Mahāyāna Buddhist studies. Hendrik Kern, the dean of Dutch orientalists, edited for the Harvard Oriental Series *Jātakamālā*, or the Garland of Birth Stories, a Sanskrit classic in verse. It was rendered into English and published in London in 1895. His most outstanding work was his *Manual of Indian Buddhism* which came out in 1896 in the Encyclopaedia of Buddhism. It is still consulted with profit by students of Buddhism. The Dutch tradition initiated by him is continued today by J. W. de Jong and others. There is an active Buddhist organization in Holland, but the number of Buddhists, as in Denmark, is small.

Sweden has a proud record of Buddhist studies. The outstanding worker in this field was Helmer Smith. He worked in Denmark and England as well. He made a distinct contribution to Sinhalese language and literature too.

Roman Catholic Italy has made its contribution to Buddhist studies. Giuseppe Tucci's work in this field is truly remarkable. Besides his own researches for several decades, he has published numerous Sanskrit and Tibetan Buddhist texts and their translations. He is considered one of the greatest living scholars of Buddhism. The stories of his eight expeditions to unexplored regions of Tibet in search of rare manuscripts make interesting reading.

Russia's monastery for lamas

A good deal of work has been done in Russia to promote the scientific study of Buddhism by I. P. Minaev, V. P. Vasiliev,

E. Obermiller, S. Oldenburg, I. J. Schmidt, and Th. Stcherbatsky. Oldenburg's *Bibliotheca Buddhica* series was started in 1897. So far, more than thirty volumes have been published. The same series brought out Stcherbatsky's monumental work, *Buddhist Logic*. A Russian translation of the *Dhammapada* appeared in 1960.

Tsarist Russia was the first country in the West to open a monastery for Buddhist lamas. It was established in 1913 at Nova Derevaya, a suburb of St. Petersburg. In 1925, the Soviet Union founded the first University for Buddhists in Europe near Moscow. A Buddhist temple existed in Poland during the last years of the Russian Empire, and Buddhist soldiers of the Russian army worshipped at it.[7]

Popularisation of Buddhism in America

Founded through the generosity of Henry Clarke Warren in 1891, the Harvard Oriental Series has contributed much towards popularizing Buddhism in America. His *Buddhism in Translations*[8] (1896) was an outstanding work published by the Series.

Warren worked under a great handicap. As the result of a fall when he was a child, he was badly deformed, but he carried on his university studies and those of Pāli Buddhism with dogged determination.

Unlike in most other countries, there are Departments of Religions in many American universities where Buddhism is a subject of study.

Of the places of Buddhist worship in America, the Buddhist temple in Washington is the best known. The Ven. Dickwelle Piyananda Thera, a Ceylon Buddhist monk, is head of the mission there.

Apart from the work done by scholars in the West itself, Western Buddhist monks have been disseminating the Buddha Dhamma in Europe and America from Ceylon through books, booklets and tracts printed in European languages. The foremost of these monks was the Ven. Nyanatiloka Mahā Thera. During his 54-year stay in Ceylon, he ordained as many as sixty Westerners as monks. One of his pupils, the Ven. Nyanaponika Mahā

[7] *The Basic Tenets of Buddhism* by the Ven. Nyanasatta Thera.

[8] Harvard University Press.

Thera, himself a German, is head of the Forest Hermitage, Kandy, and looks after the work of the Buddhist Publication Society which he founded. This Society has, during the past decade, distributed a million copies of books and booklets on different aspects of Buddhism in the West.

The impact of these scholars on modern Western thought is evidenced today by the introduction of Buddhism in the curricula of Western universities as well as by the growing numbers seeking refuge in the Buddha Dhamma.

AUTHOR

CHAPTER 1

BRITAIN

> "It is as a religion that Buddhism has come into contact with Western thought, and this has been through the Pāli tradition, the Buddhism of Ceylon, Burma, Siam, and Cambodia."[1]
>
> —E. J. Thomas

Of all countries in the West, Britain has rendered the greatest service to Buddhism.

The name of Rhys Davids heads the list of British scholars who dedicated their lives to Buddhist studies. He came out to Ceylon in 1864 as a civil servant. In that year Robert Childers, who had been in the Ceylon Civil Service for several years, resigned and returned to England. These two events which occurred in the same year were to have a far-reaching and lasting influence on Pāli Buddhist studies in the West. Both of them were drawn to the study of Pāli in Ceylon although in different circumstances, and both were impressed by the Buddha's teaching enshrined in the Pāli canon.

On his return to England, Childers compiled his famous Pāli-English Dictionary (1872-1875) in two volumes which gave a great impetus to the study of Pāli. Besides his own independent studies in Pāli Buddhism, he collaborated with Hermann Oldenberg, the German scholar, and Viggo Fausball, the Danish scholar, who were then in England. His death at a comparatively early age was a grievous loss to Pāli Buddhism.

Founding of the Pāli Text Society

Rhys Davids himself resigned from the Ceylon Civil Service and returned to England and associated himself with the work of Childers, Oldenberg, and Fausball, besides engaging in his own Buddhist research. Of the many and varied contributions he made, the greatest was the founding of the Pāli

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[1] *The History of Buddhist Thought*, London, 1933—Routledge Kegan Paul.

Text Society in 1881. The object of the Society, in his own words, was "to render accessible to students the rich stores of the earliest Buddhist literature now lying unedited and practically unused in the various manuscripts scattered throughout the universities and public libraries in Europe."

He announced the birth of the new Society when he gave his celebrated Hibbert Lectures in 1881. In doing so, he declared: "The Sacred Books of the early Buddhists have preserved to us the sole record of the only religious movement in the world's history which bears any close resemblance to Christianity; and it is not too much to say that the publication of this unique literature will be no less important for the study of history and especially of religious history than the publication of the Vedas has already been."[2]

The West and the East welcomed the new Society, and many distinguished scholars came forward to help him in the noble cause. Rhys Davids' missionary zeal for Buddhist studies made him the staunchest champion in this sphere. He helped the Society to publish almost the whole of the Pāli canon and a considerable number of commentaries and English translations, besides himself editing and translating numerous texts. With love and devotion he served the Society for forty-one years.

A Monumental Work at 72

The Pāli-English Dictionary brought out by the Society stands as a monument to Rhys Davids. He began to compile it at seventy-two, an age at which most other men spend their time in retirement. He lived to see the publication of the first three parts of this magnificent work. His friend and collaborator William Stede, the philologist, completed it in 1925—three years after his death.

Rhys Davids' services to Pāli Buddhism were original and singular. In fact, his wife described him as the "Max Müller of Buddhism."

Mrs. Rhys Davids had not merely been his companion for a quarter century, but was as capable and dedicated a worker in the field of Pāli scholarship as he was. A woman of remarkable intellect and tireless energy, she edited and translated some of the most abstruse texts, besides writing several thought-provoking original books.

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[2] *The Journal of the Pāli Text Society*, London, 1923.

Miss I. B. Horner, the present President of the Pāli Text Society, and fourth in the line, succeeded Dr. William Stede. She is an internationally recognized Pāli scholar, and is worthily maintaining the Society's traditions. She has to her credit numerous editions of Pāli texts, English translations, and original works.

A German by birth, Max Müller made a great contribution to Buddhism in England, where he spent the greater part of his life. He was Editor-in-Chief of the Sacred Books of the East Series which published a number of translations of Buddhist texts. At the conclusion of the series, he took up the editorship of the Sacred Books of the Buddhists Series under the auspices of the Pāli Text Society. He was a colossus in academic circles.

Another German, Hermann Oldenberg edited and translated Pāli texts in London, where he resided for many years. Even before the Pāli Text Society came into existence he was engaged in Buddhist scholarship in England in collaboration with Childers, Fausball, and Rhys Davids. His contribution to Buddhism was outstanding.

First full Pāli text in the West

Viggo Fausball, the Danish scholar, was the first to publish a full Pāli text in the West. His edition and Latin translation of the *Dhammapada* was brought out in 1855. His edition of the *Jātaka* is a monumental one.

Of the numerous Buddhist scholars who have interpreted the Buddha's teachings, Rhys Davids, by common consent, stands pre-eminent. His considered views are to be found in his articles in the "Encyclopaedia Brittanica", in Hasting's "Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics", in his Introduction to *Dialogues of the Buddha*, and in the chapter on the *Early History of the Buddhists*, Vol. 1 of the Cambridge History of India (1922). His six lectures under the auspices of the Hibbert Trust, London, 1881, and his American Lectures (printed under the title *Buddhism, its History and Literature*, New York) contain penetrating interpretations of Buddhism.

Essentially a critic, Caroline Rhys Davids, who was second only to her husband as a Buddhist scholar, wrote with conviction, and every word of her writing bears the stamp of her unique personality. Her most thought-provoking book is *Sakya or Buddhist Origins* (1931).

Among the other Buddhist scholars whose contribution to Buddhism is great were E. J. Thomas of Cambridge, E. B. Cowell of Cambridge, and Berridale Keith of Oxford. *The History of Buddhist Thought* by Thomas and Keith's *Buddhist Philosophy in India and Ceylon* are works of unquestionable merit. Cowell was editor of the *Jātaka* translations by various scholars.

Miss I. B. Horner and Edward Conze rank very high indeed among modern scholars of Buddhism. Miss Horner, who is President of the Pāli Text Society, has to her credit a formidable list of editions, translations, and original works. Edward Conze, who has some thirty years experience as a lecturer in psychology at university level, is a recognized scholar in Pāli, Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese. He is the author of several original works, besides being the translator of numerous Pāli, Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese works on Pāli and Māhāyana Buddhism. One of his most outstanding works is *Buddhist Thought in India.*[3]

Discovery of Dhammapada in Chinese

Three British scholars of the past deserve special mention. F. L. Woodward, a brilliant Cambridge classical scholar, not only edited and translated numerous Pāli texts but also spent sixteen years as head of a Buddhist school in Ceylon. He never drew the salary attached to the post, and spent his patrimony on erecting buildings for the school. A former pupil of Woodward in England was E. M. Hare, who was engaged in business in Ceylon for many years. In his leisure he edited and translated Pāli texts. He was not a university man, but was nevertheless an erudite Pāli scholar. Lord Chalmers completes the trio—a brilliant classical scholar of Oxford and a former Colonial Governor of Ceylon. An eminent Pāli scholar and a pupil and friend of Rhys Davids, he had to his credit several editions and translations of the Pāli canon. All three of them gave handsome donations to the Pāli Text Society.

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[3] George Allen and Unwin, London, 1962.

The Pāli Text Society has done a vast volume of work since its inception in 1881. The magnitude of the work may be gauged from the list of its publications. (See Appendix)

Although British scholars have evidently concentrated on Pāli Buddhism, they have not altogether neglected the Mahāyāna.

It was a Briton who discovered a Chinese version of the *Dhammapada*. He was Samuel Beal, Professor of Chinese at University College, London, in the 1870s. Among a large collection of books on the Chinese Buddhist canon presented to the India Office, London, by the Japanese Government about a hundred years ago, he came across a work entitled *Fa-kheu-King* (The Sūtra of the Law Verses) in which, he discovered several similarities to the Pāli version of the *Dhammapada*. He published an English translation of it in 1878.[4] His earlier work, *The Romantic Legend of Sakya Buddha*, based on Chinese works, appeared in 1875.[5]

Books of Note Since 1881

B. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil of Cambridge brought out their edition of the *Divyāvadāna* in 1886. An English translation of a Tibetan version was published by W. W. Rockhill in 1885. Max Müller's translations of selected texts of *Prajña-pāramitā* were published at Oxford in 1881 and 1884. B.E. Cowell edited and translated the *Buddhacharita* and published it at Oxford in 1894; J. J. Jones brought out his translation of the *Mahāvastu* in London in 1884. Other notable works include *Jātakmālā*, edited by H. Kern, and translated by J.S. Speyer, appeared in London 1884; the Sanskrit text of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* with a Sanskrit-Tibetan index by Edward Conze, London, 1954; *The Large Sūtra of Perfect Wisdam*, Part I, translated by Edward Conze, London, 1961; *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prājñāpāramitā* translated by Edward Conze, Calcutta, 1958; *Abhiasamayālaṅkāra* IV, translated by Edward Conze, Rome, 1954; *The Perfection of Wisdom*, translated by E.J. Thomas, London, 1952; *The Hevajra Tantra* by D.L. Snellgrove, London, 1959; *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā*, translated by Edward Conze

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4 and 5. Trubner's Oriental Series.

London, 1958. A few other Mahāyāna texts have been edited and translated into English and published in England.

Britain's first Practising Buddhist

Buddhism was a subject of mere academic study in Britain until the early years of the present century when an Englishman R. J. Jackson, publicly announced that he was a practising Buddhist.[6] He is believed to be the first Briton to do so. In 1906 he began to propagate the Buddha's teachings by giving a series of lectures from the traditional soap-box in Hyde Park. With J. R. Pain, an ex-soldier from Burma, he opened a bookshop in Bury Street, Bloomsbury, for the sale of Buddhist literature. These two men founded the first Buddhist Society in England, and communicated with another Englishman, Allan Bennett, who was then in Burma having become a Buddhist monk there in 1902 under the name of Ananda Metteyya. Bennett founded in Rangoon a monthly journal called *The Buddhist* with the assistance of a Scotsman, J. F. M. Kechnie, who had himself become a Buddhist monk there under the name of Silacāra. This magazine was for sale in Jackson's bookshop. It contained advance news about a projected Buddhist mission to England from Burma. In preparation for this mission, the Buddhist Society was expanded into the Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland with T. W. Rhys Davids, founder—President of the Pāli Text Society, as President, and a distinguished council. In April, 1908, Ananda Metteyya arrived in England at the head of the first Buddhist mission to the West, and became the heart of the new organization. The work of this Society and its official organ, *The Buddhist Review*, contributed in no small measure to the conversion of academic study into a living religion for Western people. For the first time Englishmen met Buddhist Englishmen who were proud of their new way of life, and thousands regarded with fresh eyes the doctrine which many had till then associated with the museum.

Payne's Memorable 36 Lectures

The Society proclaimed the Dhamma to Britons for sixteen long years, and when, in 1923, Ananda Metteyya died, a new impulse was needed and another English Buddhist in the person of Francis J. Payne, a civil servant, rose to supply that need. "My father who had wide cultural interests was first introduced to the Buddha's teachings in London," says his son, Lieut. Col. E. F. J. Payne of Sussex, England, in a letter to the author. "He was struck by the Buddha's broad tolerance and rational approach to life's baffling problems, and he decided to devote all his free time in making Buddhism better known in England. My father initiated me at an early age into the main teaching of Buddhism. I owe him an immeasurable debt which I can never repay. He died in 1954 in his 85th year." Francis Payne was one of the early converts of Jackson, and a member of the first society. "A true evangelist, he loved the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Sangha as with a living flame. With great energy he gathered about him the remaining members of the old society, and delivered a memorable series of thirty-six lectures on Buddhism in the Essex Hall (bomb-destroyed) in the Strand. The increasing audience at the lectures became the founding members of a short-lived Buddhist League, and their enthusiasm was infectious."[7] Christmas Humphreys himself attended some of these lectures.

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[6] *Buddhism* by Christmas Humphreys, Pelican.

The league became the Buddhist Society in London in 1943 with Christmas Humphreys as President. The Society and the Buddhist Mission worked side by side with complementary activities until the outbreak of World War II when the Mission was closed down. At all times the Mission concentrated on Pāli Buddhism but the Society did not adhere to a particular school, and is non-sectarian to date. The monthly Bulletin of the League changed its name to *Buddhism in England* and in 1943 the Society re-named it *The Middle Way*. The Society founded a shrine in Lancaster Gate near Hyde Park as well as a library. Meetings were held at first in private homes, and later at the Society's rooms in Great Russell Street. The present location of the Society is 58, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1.

The Origin of London's Vihara

The London Buddhist Vihara, located in its own property at 5, Heathfield Gardens, London, W 4, looks after the spiritual needs of British Buddhists with devotion and efficiency. Its incumbent is an exemplary Mahā Thera of Ceylon—the Ven. Dr. H. Saddhātissa, M.A., Ph.D. who explains the Dhamma in the simplest possible terms to seekers after the Truth. He is ably assisted by Mr. Russell Webb, honorary secretary of the British Mahābodhi Society, which runs the Vihara. There are other Ceylon monks there, and occasionally monks from other Buddhist lands lodge there.

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[7] *Buddhism* by Christmas Humphreys, Pelican.

The idea of a Buddhist Vihara in London originated with the Anagarika Dharmapala of Ceylon, founder of the Mahābodhi Society. With the co-operation of Mr. B. L. Broughton and other British friends, he started what was called a "Buddhist Mission" in 1928. Eleven years later its site was requisitioned for war purposes. Then, the Buddhist Mission ceased to exist. Mrs. A. Rant formed a Buddhist Vihara Society of England in 1948, which collected funds to establish a Vihara in London. By 1954, a Vihara was established and a Trust was created under the auspices of the British Mahābodhi Society to administer the affairs of the Vihara. This Vihara was located on a lease-hold property at Ovington Gardens. The Ven. Saddhātissa, who has been head of the Vihara since 1957, wished to have for the Vihara a more stable land holding than a lease, for under the English law a landlord has the legal right to eject a tenant on short notice. He therefore acquired the present site with the assistance of the Anagarika Dharmapala Trust and with generous voluntary contributions of £1000/-from Mr. B. L. Broughton, £ 500/- from Mrs. I. R. Quittner, Chairman of the British Mahābodhi Society, and £ 500/-from Miss I. B. Hornes, President of the Pāli Text Society.

The regular supporters of the London Buddhist Vihara number about 200, many of whom are English Buddhists.

There are two other Buddhist Viharas in London, besides Buddhist Study Circles in almost all major towns and cities.

Buddhist influence in Britain

The number of Buddhist monks in England is small. This is attributed to the fact that Englishmen cannot stand the strain involved in the observance of 227 rules of the Pāli Code of Discipline. For those Englishmen who desire to devote their lives to the study and practice of Buddhism, Christmas Humphreys suggests that they remain on the fringe of the Sangha as an Anagarika or homeless one, keeping many of the monk's precepts.

The Buddhist influence in England is always out of proportion to the number of avowed Buddhists, states Christmas Humphreys. As only a small percentage of English Buddhists join a Buddhist Society, it will never be possible to assess the number of Buddhists in England,[8] asserts Humphreys. Judging by literature sold, and questions asked at meetings, interest is widely spread, he states. The Englishman [contacts a Buddhist Society to obtain a few books and then returns home with his new discovery and has no further use of the society. He works alone as Buddhism has no ritual or devotional services.

Of the British contribution to Buddhist thought, pride of place goes to Professor and Mrs. Rhys Davids. Rhys Davids' lectures on Buddhism under the auspices of the Hibbert Trust in 1881 rank as a profound contribution to the understanding of the Buddha Dhamma. Mrs. Rhys Davids' volumes in the Pāli Text Society series have placed Buddhists deeply in her debt. In the annals of Buddhist literature the Rhys Davids will always be remembered as the greatest expositors of the Buddha's doctrine. By their combined endeavour they have established a place for Buddhism in the Christian world.

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[8] *Buddhism* by Christmas Humphreys, Pelican

CHAPTER II

BRITAIN

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS

Buddhism has been merely a field of research for the majority of Western scholars. To Rhys Davids, however, it extended far beyond the academic to a living religion and a meaningful way of life. This is borne out by his declaration : "Buddhist or not Buddhist, I have examined every one of the great religious systems of the world, and in none of them have I found anything to surpass, in beauty and comprehensiveness, the Noble Eightfold Path of the Buddha. I am content to shape my life according to that Path."

Further testimony to this fact is provided in a joint tribute paid to his memory by several distinguished Western scholars of Buddhism in the Journal of the Pāli Text Society, London, for 1923: "The missionary spirit of early Buddhism was, in fact, active in Rhys Davids," it states. "He saw in the ancient teachings of the Founder a noble moral force and a discreet intellectual reserve in powerful combination, and he set himself with enthusiasm to inspire respect for its deep sincerity and love of truth. His untiring labour for its appreciation was rooted in the secret reverence of his nature, and he prosecuted the work of the Society which owed its origin to him with a persistence that never failed."

Born at Colchester on 12 May, 1843, Thomas William Rhys Davids was the son of a well-known Congregational Minister, the Rev. T. W. Davids, who had the "gift both of patient enthusiasm and of illuminating what would be otherwise dry details, both of which were outstanding characteristics of the son." After school years in Brighton, he refused a good opening to be a solicitor, and entered the University of Breslau in Germany, where he studied Sanskrit under Professor Stenzler and obtained the degree of Ph.D. In 1864 he entered the Ceylon Civil Service. His philological training made it quite easy for him to acquire a good working knowledge of Sinhalese and Tamil.

The judge and the unknown language

A curious incident drew him to the study of Pāli Buddhism. When he was functioning as a judge in Ceylon, a case in connexion with a village Buddhist temple, involving ecclesiastical law, came before him and a document in a language which no one present in court could read was produced in evidence.

"I was once told, I do not know with how much veracity," writes Miss I. B. Horner, "that this document contained a quotation from the *Vinaya Pitaka*, and it was this that aroused such a keen interest in Rhys Davids as to determine him to master this apparently unknown language."[1]

The language was Pāli, and to assist him in its study he engaged the services of a Buddhist monk named Yatramulle Unnanse, to whom he paid the following tribute in his Hibbert Lectures : "When he first came to me, the hand of death was already upon him. He was sinking into the grave from the effects of a painful and incurable malady. I had heard of his learning as a Pāli scholar, and of his illness, and was grateful to him for leaving his home, under such circumstances, to teach a stranger. There was a strange light in his sunken eyes, and he was constantly turning away from questions of Pāli to questions of Buddhism. I found him versed in all the poetry and ethics of the Suttas, and was glad to hear him talk. There was an indescribable attraction, a high-mindedness that filled me with reverence."

Rhys Davids made rapid progress under his able tutor.

Contributions to R.A.S. Journal

He resigned from the Ceylon Civil Service in 1872 over a disagreement with a higher officer. The disagreement arose when he suggested that government should provide free pasture land for cattle. The higher officer was against this suggestion, and the government of the day held with him. Returning to England, he studied law and was called to the Bar from Middle Temple in 1877. But his practice was poor. He concentrated on the interpretation of Buddhism, and his contributions to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society on the "Inscriptions of Parakrama Bahu," "Sigiri, the Lion Rock," and "Two Old Sinhalese Inscriptions" brought him quick recognition as a well-equipped scholar. He surveyed the labours in Pāli and Sinhalese of earlier scholars such as George Turnour, Gogerly, Spence Hardy, Childers, Fausball, Oldenberg and others. This was incorporated in the Presidential address to the Philological Society by Dr. Richard Morris in 1875. "It was a fine example of the breath of his outlook and the thoroughness of his work."[2]

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[1] Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, Ceylon.

"There were Pāli scholars here and there, but it was reserved for Rhys Davids to bring some kind of organization in Pāli studies in the West, to pave the way for Buddhism to become a household word, and to show its value as part of special knowledge and its mental or religious significance to mankind as a whole."[3]

Rhys Davids read widely on the history of Buddhism and gained greater mastery of Pāli. This he did despite attacks of malaria which he had contracted in the jungles of Ceylon. He had collected and brought from Ceylon all the necessary material for an edition of the *Dīpavansa.* But one day Oldenberg, then working in the India Office, London, on his *Vinaya Pitaka,* called on him to consult him on editing the *Dīpavansa.* To Oldenberg's amazement and delight, Rhys Davids, with characteristic generosity, gave him all his material. Oldenberg could hardly express his thanks for his emotion.

Nibbana does not mean annihilation

The first book by Rhys Davids was *The Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon* which appeared in 1877. The next year his *Manual of Buddhism* was published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in its non-Christian Religions Series. The 23rd edition of this work appeared in 1914. Nibbāna, he wrote, does not mean annihilation as was so often believed, but signifies a moral and mental condition attainable in one's present life itself. Two years later this conclusion was justified by Dr. Frankfurter's publication of three passages from the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* in which Nibbāna was defined as the extinction of the threefold fire of greed, hatred, and delusion.

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[2] PTS Journal, 1923.

[3] Miss I. B. Horner in Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, Ceylon.

By now Rhys Davids had won a high reputation which brought him into correspondence with an increasing number of scholars. His opportunities for interpreting Buddhism multiplied.

He translated the *Jātaka Nidānakathā* with an important introduction on the history of Birth-story literature and published it in 1880 under the title of Buddhist Birth-stories or Jātaka Tales. "It may be regarded as the preamble to the translation of Fausball's Jātaka, issued under the editorship of Professor E.B. Cowell in six volumes (Cambridge University Press, 1895-1907)," states Miss I. B. Horner.

The next year he made his first contribution to the Sacred Books of the Buddhist Series edited by Professor Max Müller, namely, Buddhist Suttas, translated from the Pāli. In 1881-1885 there were published in the same series three volumes entitled *Vinaya Texts* which he had translated from the Pāli in collaboration with Hermann Oldenberg. These works were followed in 1890 and 1894, by the *Questions of King Milinda* (Sacred Books of the East Vols. 35 and 36, reprinted in the U.S.A. in 1965). In his estimation, the text of the *Milindapañho* (The Questions of King Milinda) is "the masterpiece of Indian prose." Miss Horner says that "his two introductions, one to each volume, are immensely valuable and may be read with great profit even today."

Hibbert lectures : the new outlook

His famous six lectures under the Hibbert Trust in 1881 enabled him to emphasize some of the results he had gained and written about in his *Manual of Buddhism* three years before. In a "strain of stately eloquence he described the new outlook to which research and reflection had brought him."

"It is not too much to say", he declared, "that a new world has been once more discovered by the adventurers as persevering as Columbus, and perhaps at present have received as little gratitude as he did from his contemporaries ; and that the inhabitants of the Old World cannot, if they would, go back again to the quiet times when the New World was not, because it was unknown. Everyone to whom the entrancing story of man's gradual rise and progress has charms peculiarly its own will welcome the new light; others will have to face the new facts, and find room for them in their conceptions of the world's history—that history which is the epic of humanity. Happy are we if the strains of that epic are ringing in our ears, if the spirit of that epic is ever ruling in our hearts. An abiding sense of the long past, whose beginnings are beyond imagination, and of the long future, whose end we cannot realize, may fill us indeed with a knowledge of our own insignificance—the bubbles on the stream which flash into light for a moment and are seen no more. But it will, perhaps, bring us nearer to a sense of the infinite than man in his clearest moments, in his deepest moods, can ever otherwise hope to reach. It will enable us to appreciate what is meant by the solidarity of man, and will fill us with an overpowering awe and wonder at the immensity of that series of which we are but a few of the tiny links. And the knowledge of what man has been in distant times, in far off lands, under the influence of ideas which at first sight seem to us so strange, will strengthen within us that reverence, sympathy and love which must follow on a realization of the mysterious complexity of being, past, present, and to come, that is wrapt up in every human life."

Formation of Pāli Text Society

In the second of these lectures Rhys Davids announced the formation of the Pāli Text Society. Eminent scholars of both the East and the West had welcomed the new Society, and its first committee contained the names of Viggo Fausball, Hermann Oldenberg, Emile Senart, and Richard Morris, with Rhys Davids as chairman. Offers of financial assistance from individuals, leading orientalists, universities and other institutions had been received. Pāli scholars of various nationalities had offered their free services to edit and translate the texts. Rhys Davids described the importance of these texts as follows:

"The historical importance of these texts can scarcely be exaggerated, either in respect of their value for the history of folk-lore, or of religion, or of language. It is already certain that they were all put into their present form within a very limited period, probably extending to less than a century and a half (about 400-250 B.C.). For that period they have preserved for us, quite uncontaminated by any outside influence, of the everyday beliefs and customs of a people nearly related to ourselves just as they were passing through the first stages of civilization. They are our best authorities for the early history of that interesting system of religion so nearly allied to some of the latest speculations among ourselves, and which has influenced so powerfully and for so long a time so great a portion of the human race—the system of religion which we now call Buddhism. And in the history of speech they contain unimpeachable evidence of a stage in language midway between the Vedic Sanskrit and the modern forms of speech in India."

Royal patronage for Sacred Books

The conduct of the Pāli Text Society devolved almost entirely upon Rhys Davids until his marriage in 1894 to Caroline Augusta Foley which brought him a most accomplished and devoted helper. In the words of Miss I. B. Horner, Mrs. Rhys Davids' "largeness of heart and brain, disciplined intellect and unbounded energy made her a fit partner in so full a life". There were three children of the marriage, two daughters and a son. The latter, a brilliant product of Eton, distinguished himself in the armed forces during World War I. Most regrettably he was killed in action in 1917. This was a grievous loss to the parents.

Rhys Davids possessed a good business head and knew the art of influencing people. He was thus able to enlist considerable support for his cause. He collected funds, managed the finances of the Society, made arrangements with printers and supervised publications.

The first two volumes of the Sacred Books of the Buddhists Series were published in 1895 and 1899 under the patronage of King Chulalankara of Siam, and the third and fourth volumes had the royal patronage of his successor.

Rhys Davids' most cherished ambition was to provide a new Pāli-English Dictionary and to that end he obtained promises of support from scholars in other lands. Many of these, however, did not materialise. So he shouldered the great task single-handed at the age of seventy-two. Fortunately, however, after a few years, he was able to secure assistance in the full-time services of Dr. William Stede, the philologist.

He collected from several sources £2,160, which included a donation of £500 from King Chulalankara of Siam. With this money the Society was able to issue the first volume of the Dictionary in 1921. In his Foreword he wrote: "The work is essentially preliminary...to wait for perfection would postpone the much-needed Dictionary to the Greek Kalends. It has therefore been decided to proceed as rapidly as possible with the completion of this first edition, and to reserve the proceeds of the sale for the eventual issue of a second edition which shall come nearer to our ideals of what a Pāli Dictionary should be." Miss Horner states that "although the eventual second edition is still only a distant vision, the original edition remains an invaluable tool and has been reprinted several times."

Lectures at Cornell University

Rhys Davids became Professor of Pāli in University College, London, in 1882. He gave new life to the Royal Asiatic Society as its secretary and librarian (1885-1904), and was a founder of both the British Academy and the London School of Oriental and African Studies.

In 1884 he edited Anuruddha Thera's *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* which was published in the Pāli Text Society Journal, and in 1886 there appeared the first volume of the *Sumaṅgala Vilāsini* which he edited in collaboration with his friend, Professor J. E. Carpenter. They also edited in 1890 and in 1911 the *Dīgha Nikāya*, Vols. I and II.

Professor and Mrs. Rhys Davids went to America in 1894 where he gave a series of lectures at Cornell University. These were published in New York in 1896 under the title of *Buddhism: Its History and Literature.*

Rhys Davids could not visit India on his way back to England from Ceylon, or while he was in Ceylon. His desire to see the sights of the Buddhist story was naturally very strong, and opportunity was at last found. In 1899-1900 he visited Buddha Gaya and other localities connected with the life of the Buddha. One of the results of this journey was a remarkable work entitled *Buddhist India* (1903). The 8th edition was published in 1959—a pioneer work surveying the social and political conditions in which Buddhism arose.

The other outcome of his visit to India was the Indian Texts Series, the purpose of which was to furnish full and accurate material for the study of the history of India. This Series came into existence with difficulty despite the approval and active interest of Lord Curzon, the then Viceroy of India.

Rhys Davids was appointed Professor of Comparative Religion in the Victoria University, Manchester, in 1904, the first University post created in England for that purpose. As a token of their gratitude a presentation was made to him by the Royal Asiatic Society. He inspired his students with his own ardour. He found his reward in a pupil's response to his teaching; he delighted in their advance, and was never happier than in helping them through their difficulties.

Dialogues of the Buddha

With the collaboration of his wife he completed in 1910 and 1921 the translation of the *Dīgha Nikāya* called *Dialogues of the Buddha.* This was published in the Sacred Books of the Buddhist Series, of which he had translated the first volume in 1899. "As an Orientalist and as a writer of clear, stately and vigorous English," states Miss Horner, "he reached a high level in his illuminating introductions to the various Dialogues of which the Dīgha is composed. Some of his ripest scholarship is also to be found scattered in many an article in Rashdall Hasting's 'Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics', the majority of them not yet superseded in the breadth of their outlook and firm grasp of the subject."

The newly-formed India Society (now the Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society) made him its President in 1910. He found it tiresome to travel from Manchester to attend meetings of the Society and those of the British Academy. So he left Manchester and settled down in Chipstead, Surrey. "Here he lived a quiet scholar's life, often suffering much pain, but working through it and not, till near the end, giving up the golf and other games, outdoor and indoor, which had been his refreshment for so long," says Miss Horner.

Rhys Davids was a Fellow of the Royal Academy, M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., D. Litt and LL.D, besides being a member of several learned societies.

He died on 27 December, 1922.

In a tribute to his memory, Miss Horner states: "Rhys Davids bore the stamp of complete integrity of thought and character. His very great erudition never sat heavily on him. In conversation he was learned, brilliant, and of entrancing interest; but yet people who knew him remember well how the humour that constantly came bubbling out of him, enlivening everything, made his deep wisdom palatable even to the most ordinary or ignorant of persons and led them to feel they were making some contribution that was worth-while."

Dr. Stede's striking tribute

His collaborator for a long period, Dr. William Stede, in a striking tribute to his memory, states: "What Rhys Davids has been to me nobody but he and I knew. What I thought of him he must have felt when I confided my troubles to him sitting by his side. What he was to me I realized each time I looked into his clear eyes and felt the touch of his hand. Kindness, sympathy, gentleness—in one word *metta,* on which he loved to quote the *Iti-vuttaka*—was the prominent trait of his character. I have his picture in my mind, and I shall always remember him as my *kalyānamitta.*"

Among the other tributes paid to Rhys Davids were:

Professor Moritz Winternitz of Prague University: "No man living, and scarcely one single man in the past, has contributed so much to the knowledge of Buddhism and Buddhist literature as he. His name will always be remembered as that of a most enthusiastic and devoted scholar, but those who have had the good fortune to know him personally will always cherish his memory as that of a kind and lovable man, of a Buddhist in the real sense of the word."

Professor C. R. Lanman of Harvard University: "I must say how much we owe to his courageous persistence, through all these many, many years of sunshine and of storm, in devoting himself to a work the greatness of which is now obvious, and the importance and value of which he had the vision to see long before other scholars awoke to it—or at any rate, before they, awaking, could transmute their vision into action."

The Anagarika Dharmapala of Ceylon: "When will England give birth again to a man like Rhys Davids? He gave life to those indifferent to religion. By the publication of Pāli texts, in Roman characters, he brought the *Buddhavacana* within the reach of the poor scholar. His name will never be forgotten by the Pāli student."

Devotion to Truth and Learning

Professor S. Tachibana of Japan: "He devoted the greater part of his life to promote the knowledge of Buddhism in the West, and all know how much he has done therein. His contribution to it is greater than that of any other scholar."

Professor P. Maung Tin of Burma: "To me the works of Professor Rhys Davids have been a source of joy and inspiration. His name is held, and will continue to be held, in greater respect and admiration than that of any other scholar."

Dr. K. N. Sitaram of India: "He has done more than any other scholar to spread the knowledge of the religion and teachings of one of the greatest sons of Mother India."

Dr. W.A. de Silva of Ceylon: "His was not mere scholarship, eminent as it was; his was the opportunity, and he took it to expound to the world the Dhamma of the Great Master. And we in Ceylon had in him one who not only loved the Island and the Sinhalese, but one who was able to place before the world the best we have ever acquired in our history."

Dr. Arnold C. Taylor: "His was the ideal scholar's life, devoted to truth and learning for their own sake, with an enthusiasm rare in this country. He has left a splendid movement behind him in the long row of texts and translations, which would never have come into being but for him, and so many of which are his own work. I never met anyone whose enthusiasm for his work was so inspiring and infectious."

Sir E. Denison Ross: "More than anyone else he encouraged me in the Path of Orientalism. No other scholar I have known combined the seriousness of study with the human side of everyday life to the same extent. He carried out a great life's work and leaves an undying name, but what I shall always remember best about him are the warm greeting, the cherry smile, and the constant charm that compelled affection."

Sir Israel Gollancz: "Undaunted, he pursued the tasks he had set himself, and by those labours and by his personality he will live in the hearts of men. He served learning well."

MRS. C.A.F. RHYS DAVIDS

The governing fact about Mrs. Rhys Davids is that she was a critic. She would not accept as the Buddha-word all that is in the Pāli canon. She believed that the monks who inherited the Buddha's teaching handed it down in a "defective and mutilated form'.' She had her own interpretations of the Dhamma which she gave courageously. But she expressed the essentially tolerant and progressive spirit of Buddhism, and gave the best of her scholarship to the Buddhist cause.

At the age of 36, Miss Caroline Augusta Foley married the 52-year-old Thomas William Rhys Davids. She was mature and independent with a brilliant academic background. So was Rhys Davids. A common interest in Pāli existed between them. A mutual friend, who forsaw the potentialities of a union between two great intellectuals, encouraged them to marry. The marriage proved a perfect one.

Born in 1858, Caroline Augusta Foley had a brilliant career at University College, London, of which she was later elected a Fellow. An M.A., D.Litt., she was for a long period Reader in Pāli at the London School of Oriental and African Studies, and was also for a time Lecturer in Indian Philosophy at Manchester University.

Versatile . gifted, a scholar in the front rank

"Dr. Caroline Rhys Davids, who survived her husband, is one of the most versatile and gifted women I have known," records Sir Denison Ross, the first Director of the London School of Oriental and African Studies, in his autobiography entitled *Both Ends of the Candle*. "Able, as a young woman, to beat most others at tennis and billiards, she has for years been a Pāli scholar in the front rank. As Reader in Pāli she was one of the ornaments of the school, attracting students from many countries. She suffered a terrible bereavement in the loss of her brilliant son, one of our flying aces and a V.C."

Her editions of the Pāli texts, their English translations—both in prose and verse—introductions to her own works and those of other scholars, and her original works add up to a formidable number.

Credit for bringing to light the abstruse *Abhidharma Piṭaka* goes to her. She has edited with remarkable skill such difficult texts as the *Vibhaṅga* the *Patthāna*; the *Yāmaka*, and the *Visuddhimagga*. She also rendered into lucid English profound *Abhidharma* works such as the *Dhammasaṅganī* (Manual of Psychological Ethics), the *Abidhammatthasaṅgaha* (Compendium of Philosophy), and the *Kathāvatthu* (Points of Controversy), the last two in collaboration with Swee Zan Aung of Burma.

Mrs. Rhys Davids rendered into English verse the *Theragāthā* and *Therīgāthā* under the titles of Psalms of the Brethren and Psalms of the Sisters. They are considered masterpieces of lyrical beauty.

Besides these and other editions and translations, she has written original works such as *Gotama the Man*[1] and the thought-provoking *Sakya or Buddhist Origins.*[2] Her articles on various Buddhist themes have been published posthumously under the title of *Wayfarer's Words.*

Interpretation of the doctrine

One of her own interpretations of the doctrine runs as follows: "It is recorded in the Pāli scriptures at least three times that the chief comrade of Gotama Buddha, Sariputta, used to speak of 'You and your mind' in a parable. He would say, it is recorded, you should have your mind, or thoughts (citta) under your control; you should not be under the control of the mind or thoughts. Just as a Rājā, with many suits in his wardrobe, would pick out one he wanted for morning wear, another for mid-day wear, another for evening wear, putting on a suitable suit (the pun is mine), the suit having nothing to say in the matter. (You will find these passages in *Majjhima Nikāya, Sutta* 32, *Saṁyutta Nikāya, Mahāvagga on Bojjhaṅgas, Patisambhidā-magga, Bojjhaṅga-kathā*).

"Here is a very clear distinction made between the man and his 'kit', his equipment, tools or instruments. The latter are to be kept in their place. You see the distinction made again in another parable, this time told of the Master: Men are in the Jeta Wood about the Vihara (where he spent his last years) collecting faggots. And he : 'You would not call these faggots the Wood? So look on the body and mind as not of you, not the very you'. The faggots are carried away for burning: the Wood stands and blossoms again.

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[1] Luzac & Co. Ltd. London.

[2] Ibid.

"Once more, in the first two verses of the Twins (Yāmaka) chapter of the *Dhammapada*, you read : 'If with corrupted mind he speaks or acts, ill follows him as the wheel the foot of drawing beast; if with mind serene he speaks or acts, bliss follows him as shadow goes not from the tree.' Here again, mind is the instrument 'with' which the man acts.

"But in time a change came over the teaching. Master and comrade had passed away: other teachers arose who were, as all Indian teaching, greatly influenced by the new mind-study that had been gaining ground, and which came to be known as *Sāṅkhya*: Pāli, *saṅkha*, *saṅkhana*. Man's mind was, in it, being analysed, as if it were an unseen body, or group of processes of an orderly kind, like those of the body. It was a beginning of what we in our day have come to do also and to call psychology. And gradually it affected the Buddhist Sāsana much as it has affected our own teaching: the 'man' came to be resolved into his thoughts or mind. Just as in a modern book I read the words 'the self or mind', so did Buddhist teachers come to use the mind or thought for the self or man. Thus we read in a *Sutta* (M-n. 43) : that it is the mind (*mano*) who enjoys collectively all the sense-impressions, not you, not the man, not the self, as the earlier teaching would have said. Only the Commentary retains the older way: 'as a Rājā owning five villages would enjoy the revenue they paid'.

A Way but no Wayfarer

"Turn too to your *Dhammapada*: in those two twin verses, each of a couplet like the rest of the Twins, there has been added, or rather prefaced a line in each, to show the new importance assigned to the mind: 'Things are forerun by mind, have mind as best, are compounds of the mind.' You can see that if you take away this line the meaning of the couplets is just as good, and the symmetry of the twins is better.

"For in them it is clear that it is not mind which is the speaker or doer; in them the clothes are not made the man, nor the faggots the wood. But in the interpolated line it is just this that has happened. This seems a long way from the Founder's first advice to laymen: to 'seek the self', the man. But we are all of us just now, in East and West, in bondage to this thrusting of man's ways or minding into the place of the man who 'minds'. I see it constantly in European writing and speaking; I see it in Buddhist writings. So much so, that the Master's central figure of the Way is spoken of as if there were no Wayfarer, but only ideas about his faring. Truly is the medieval monks' teaching carried out, that 'a Way is there, but no wayfarer!' Yet what meaning has a way without the wayfarer? Is he only there for the sake of the Way, or is the Way there for his sake? A road made for nobody to travel on is futile. Let us get back to the better teaching of the wardrobe and the wood. Let us be the master of the suits; let us dispose of our faggots. Then shall we, as the wood in springtime, break out into new and finer blossom, in that we have not wronged the great New Word taught by Sariputta and his beloved Friend."[3]

The Buddhists in Theravāda countries do not accept this interpretation, but cling on to Buddhaghoṣa's view that the Way is there for "mere phenomena" to roll on.

Progressive Spirit of Buddhism

Mrs. Rhys Davids stresses the essentially tolerant and progressive spirit of Buddhism thus:

"Here is a doctrine that takes us back as far as the days of the very beginnings of Hellenic Science. For this doctrine it is claimed that it might have served not to check or to ignore the discoveries of Copernicus and Bruno, Galileo and Newton, Darwin and Spenser but to stimulate and inspire them. Not a guide that they might have adhered to from convention only, or appealed to now and again to reconcile the lay world with their discoveries and conclusions but an oracle that would have spurred them on in their quest for Truth....

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[3] *Hawaiian Buddhist Annual*, 1932.

"Well, it is one thing to talk about achievements of modern science and advance of modern thought, and another thing to claim for this age in general that it is imbued with the scientific spirit, or that the views and conduct of the average man or woman are governed thereby. This state of things is but in its infancy. But it is born, and is growing. Hence any movement of thought will have, more and more, to cope with the scientific spirit, and will stand or fall largely by its sanction. And hence all who call themselves Buddhists, or who are interested in spreading a knowledge of Buddhist doctrine or, at least, the spirit of that doctrine, should look into this claim that is made for it. Those, again, whose interest lies in tracing the growth of human ideas, can in no wise feel indifferent to the real extent to which the ancient mind of India anticipated a standpoint slowly and painfully won to by the intellect of Europe.....

Suggestion of a psychological crisis

"The fact that early Buddhism and modern Science express belief in a universal law of Causation in terms so similar, leads inevitably to the further inquiry, as to how far there is historical evidence that the evolution of this belief among early Buddhists was parallel to the corresponding evolution in Europe. The lack of continuity and of chronological certainty in the literatures of ancient India hinder and complicate such an inquiry. But there does survive a body of Brahmanical literature, an accretion of various dates, known as the Sixty *Upaniṣads* of the Veda, in which a form of Pantheism called *Ātmanism* or *Vedāntism* is set forth, with mainly archaic views on what we term First, Final and Occasional Cause. And we have the Pāli canon of the Buddhists, coinciding, it is thought, in date, with the middle period of these sixty books, and repudiating this Ātmanism, whether macrocosmically or microcosmically conceived.

"To what extent Buddhism, as a lay, anti-Brahmanic, anti-sacerdotal movement, originated the rejection of *Ātmanism*, or carried on a wider and older tradition of rejection, it is not possible to say. But the fact that the founders of Buddhism did, in leaving the world for the religious life, take up this Protestant position on the one hand, and on the other make a law of natural causation their chief doctrine, suggests at all events a profound psychological crisis."[4]

In these passages we see Mrs. Rhys Davids at the height of her powers, when she was giving the best of her scholarship to the Buddhist cause.

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[4] *Buddhist Review*, (1908).

FRIEDRICH MAX MÜLLER

By birth a German, Friedrich Max Müller made a great contribution to Buddhism from England where he spent the greater part of his life. "He might be taken as a typical Englishman, for he has qualities which commend his writings to the educated John Bull."[1] He was a British subject.

He edited the Sacred Books of the East Series which consisted of fifty volumes of English translations by twenty outstanding scholars, including a translation of the *Dhammapada* by himself. Upon the closure of this series, he took up the editorship of the Sacred Books of the Buddhists Series under the auspices of the Pali Text Society. On his death in 1900, Rhys Davids took up the editorship of the series and twenty-five translations of the series were published.

Besides editing these two series, Max Müller has to his credit numerous essays and articles on various Buddhist topics.

Nihilistic View refuted

He was one of the earliest Western scholars to refute the view that Buddhism is nihilism. Among those who held this view was his own teacher, Eugene Burnouf, the French orientalist. "If we may argue from human nature, such as we find it at all times and in all countries, we confess that we cannot bring ourselves to believe that the reformer of India, the teacher of so perfect a code of morality, the young prince who gave up all he had in order to help those whom he saw afflicted in mind, body, or estate, should have cared about speculation which he knew would either be misunderstood, or not understood at all, by those whom he wished to benefit ; that he should have thrown away one of the most powerful weapons in the hands of every religious teacher, the belief in a future life, and should not have seen that, if this life was sooner or later to end in nothing, it was hardly worth the trouble which he took himself, or the sacrifices which he imposed on his disciples,"[2] he wrote.

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[1] *The Cabinet Portrait Gallery*, 1893.

[2] Max Müller's *Selected Essays*, Vol. 2, 1881.

Born on 6 December, 1823, in the Duchy of Anhalt-Dessau, Max Müller was the son of Wilhelm Müller, a famous poet of his day. A classical philologist at the age of 28, Wilhelm functioned as headmaster of a grammar school. Later he became director of the ducal library of his home town.

Poets, artists, literati and musicians sought his company and that of his cultured and talented wife, and often visited his home. He named his son Friederich after Friederich Leopold, Duke of Anhalt-Dessau, a friend of the family.

Doctorate in Philology at 20

The Müller family was a happy one, but the happiness was shortlived, for in 1827, at the age of 33, Wilhelm died, leaving his young wife, his daughter, aged 8, and Max, aged 4, in strained circumstances. But there were friends to help them. Dr. Carus, a friend of Wilhelm, took Max to his home in Leipzig and sent him to school there.

The home of Dr. Carus, too, was a meeting place of poets, artists, literati and musicians. They found that Max was a boy of many gifts. He had a leaning for music as well, but Felix Mendelssohn advised him not to follow a musical career. He then decided on the study of philology.

Regarded as a prodigy, Max entered the University of Leipzig at the age of 17, and obtained his doctorate in philology at 20, in 1843. As a youth he came into contact with such intellectual giants as Lotze, Georg Forsters, Herder and Goethe, who praised Indian poetry and antiquity. They impressed him. He discussed deep problems of Indian thought with Schopenhauer. His first literary effort, a translation of the *Hitopadesa*, the Sanscrit classic, into German, was published in 1844.

He next went to Berlin, where Franz Bopp introduced him to the science of Indogermanistice which he had evolved. Frederich Ruckert allowed Max to take part in his literary activities and taught him the art of translation. He was attracted by the lectures of Schelling, and belonged to the circle of friends of Theodor Fontane who was full of praise for Max. In his steady progress he outclassed some of his teachers.

New World of the Vedas and Buddhism

In March 1846, he crossed over to Paris, which had a special attraction for Indologists as it was where Antoine Leonard de Chezy, and later Eugene Burnouf, lived. It was through Burnouf that he became acquainted with the Vedas and Buddhism. Burnouf's lectures on the hymns of the Vedas opened a "new world" for Max, as he writes in his autobiography. Inspired by Burnouf, he decided to edit the *Rigveda*, for which purpose he left for London, where the manuscripts were available. The undertaking was a huge and costly one. Christian Karl Josias Baron von Bunsen, the Prussian Ambassador to the Court of St. James, and the East India Company gave him financial assistance for the project.

At the Bodleian Library Max Müller made the acquaintance of Professor Wilson of Oxford, the translator of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, who persuaded him to take up his residence in England. In 1848 he settled at Oxford, and in 1849, after the publication of the first volume of the *Rigveda*, he was invited by the University of Oxford to give a series of lectures on comparative philology. From that time onwards Müller's fame gradually grew. He was made Taylorian Professor of Modern European Languages in 1854, Fellow of All Souls College in 1858, and a Curator of the Bodleian Library in 1856. Earlier, he was made an honorary M.A. and a member of Christ Church.

The Sanskrit Professorship fell vacant in 1860, but theological animosities, which in a University of ecclesiastical tendencies, not unnaturally assailed the man who first introduced the University to Kant, prevented his election to the post. But eight years later a new Professorship of Comparative Philology was founded, and the statute of foundation named Max Muller as the first Professor. He continued to hold it until his death.

The Rigveda in Six Volumes

Müller's edition of the *Rigveda* in six big volumes, which took 25 years to complete, is his greatest contribution to Indology. The book remains the definitive edition. To Max Müller it seemed unbelievable that the *Rigveda*, which is looked upon as a divine revelation representing the highest religious authority, had up to then never been printed and had remained in the hands of the priestly class. Only a few opposed its publication. The vast majority accepted it with thankfulness. Brahman priests even corrected their own manuscripts with its aid.

One of Max Müller's best publications is *India—what can it teach us* ? It sought to remove the prejudices against India, which he described as a "morass of moral degradation and an ants' nest of lies". One who reads it will wonder how without firsthand knowledge he could have given such vivid details of India and her peoples. When he was young, he had no money to visit India, and when he had money later, he had no time. "Just as scholars of the ancient classical days longed to see Rome or Athens, so do I long to see Benares and to bathe in the holy waters of the Ganges", he once wrote. His attitude to Indian problems was that of a patriotic Indian. Indians revered him as a great friend of their country. His memory is perpetuated by the Max Müller Bhavan.

"His teaching may be described as a long protest against materialism in all its forms. He brought the message of Aryan antiquity before the modern world".[3]

Although England accepted him as worthy citizen and treated him well, Max Müller did not feel quite at home until his marriage with Georgina Grenfell of Maidenhead in 1859.

His reputation in England was so high that *The Times*, London, always opened its columns to his contributions. He was a great advocate of closer co-operation between England and Germany. Queen Victoria held him in high esteem.

Address on religion in Westminster

In 1873, at the invitation of Dean Stanley, Max Müller gave an address on religion in Westminster Abbey—the first layman to do so. *The Times* described it as "a singular event."

"All really great men," he once stated, "may be said to live three lives—there is one life which is seen and accepted by the world at large, a man's outward life ; there is a second life, which is seen by a man's intimate friends, his household life; and there is a third life seen only by man himself and by Him who searches the heart." From the publications of our author, states *The Cabinet Portrait Gallery*, 1893, his readers gather with delight, the impression that in all his three lives, he is really a great man.

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[3] *The Cabinet Portrait Gallery*, 1893.

Happy in his domestic life, his acquaintance with Bunsen developed into a strong friendship, based as it was alike on a common interest in scholarship and on a broad and simple religious belief. Among his closest friends he counted also Charles Kingsley and Dean Stanley.[4]

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[4] This sketch is partly based on the Heidelberg University publication on Max Müller.

SIR EDWIN ARNOLD

Buddhism became widely known in the West by the publication in 1879 of Sir Edwin Arnold's beautiful poem *The Light of Asia*. The Book achieved a phenomenal success. A second edition appeared within the year of its first publication. It has had a wider circulation than any other work on Buddhism.

Five years after the appearance of the original edition, Arnold revised the text, and the revisions appear in the authorized editions from 1885 onwards. By that year Trübner, the publisher had issued over 30 editions. American pirated editions, however, continued to use the old text for many years. The book was more widely read in America than even in England. New editions continued to appear in the 20th century and the book is still listed by publishers.

Born on 10 July, 1832, at Gravesend, Kent, Edwin Arnold was the second son of Robert Coles Arnold and Sarah Pizzey Arnold of Framfield, Sussex. After his primary education at King's School, Rochester, Arnold went to King's College, London, where he won a scholarship to University College, Oxford. There he had the rooms occupied by the poet Shelley. His first poem, *The Feast of the Belshazzar* won the Newdigate Prize in 1852. He read it publicly at the University, in accordance with custom, at the installation of Lord Derby as Chancellor. Benjamin Disraeli, who listened to it, shook Arnold warmly by the hand and prophesied a brilliant future for him.

Books—from Greece to Japan

Arnold's first complete book of verse, *Poems Narrative and Lyrical* appeared in 1853. Keats influenced him. He was the second layman to give an address in Westminster Abbey, the first being Max Müller. At the age of 22 he married Katherine Elizabeth Biddulph, the sister of an undergraduate friend.

After taking his degree, he secured a post as a master in King Edward VI School, Birmingham, which he resigned at the age of 25 to take up the appointment of Principal of Deccan College in Poona, India. "This appointment counted for much in his intellectual and literary development, for it enabled him to foster that mingled reverence for the religions of the East and interest in the science of the West which is the mark of his later writings."[1]

Meanwhile Arnold had begun to write on a variety of subjects with the result that he had published quite a profusion of books—translations from Sanskrit, an essay on the Greek poets, a treatise on education in India, a history in two volumes of the administration of Lord Dalhousie, a Turkish grammar compiled in 1877, when the Eastern Question was the great interest in English politics, an excursion into Mohammedanism in *Pearls from Islam's Rosary*, an elaborate poem founded on an episode in the *Boston of the Persian Sa'aid*, and *Japonica*, sketches from Japan.[2]

In response to a newspaper advertisement, Arnold applied for and obtained an appointment on *The Daily Telegraph* in 1861 as a feature writer. Later he became its editor and served the paper in all for forty years.

The Teaching in a Form of Considerable Beauty

"Arnold set about writing *The Light of Asia* deliberately as a witness for religious liberalism. It was composed during busy months when England was in an uproar over the Eastern Question and when *The Daily Telegraph* was fulminating against the Russians abroad and Gladstone at home. He did not have much spare time and turned to poetry for relaxation in the few moments which he could snatch from his work. Much of it was written at Hamlet House, Southend, overlooking the mouth of the Thames. Other pages were composed at odd moments, while travelling to work by train, or jotted down on envelopes, margins of newspapers, the back of menus, and even upon his shirt-cuffs.

Fortunately, he had a mind impervious to most distractions. If no pen were handy, a pencil would do, and if that were not to be had, a piece of firewood could be whittled into shape."[3]

"The editorial chair of *The Daily Telegraph* might seem at first sight, for one with the Eastern Leanings of Sir Edwin Arnold, more suited to the cultivation of Persian flowers of style in English prose than to the production of true poetry. Yet during his editorship his poetic power developed. *The Light of Asia* appeared in 1879 and at once, and deservedly, attained popularity. In it the profound spiritual teaching of the Buddha, interpreted according to the light of the author's scholarship, was offered, in a form of considerable beauty, to the average reader, and thus satisfied the need for a popular account of the origin of a religion which has such a significant place in history. His attempt 12 years later to versify parts of the Christian story in *The Light of the World* can hardly be regarded as a comparable work."

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[1] *The Cabinet Portrait Gallery*, 1893.

[2] Ibid.

[3] *Interpreter of Buddhism to the West* by Brooke Wright.

Arguments for survival

"*The Light of Asia* is not the only evidence of Arnold's interest in the problems which fascinated the fine minds of the day. In a striking volume, *Death and Afterwards* he argues that "it is reasonable to expect a future existence, for in the presence of the mysteries of life and death, we may be as near a glad surprise as was Don Quixote, who, after hanging, as he fancied, found that he dropped just four inches." This bright expectation is only a mark of the hopefulness which is characteristic of his most serious thoughts."[4]

"His views are summed up in a letter to *The Daily Telegraph*, republished in his *Seas and Lands*, in which he recounts how when travelling in Japan he was called upon to address the assembled University of Tokyo. The contrast between the East and the West led him to turn his discourse upon the range of modern knowledge and probably never before had poet or journalist so picturesque an opportunity for a confession of faith. As he spoke he looked not upon "the immense city, covering with its small black houses as large an area as London." Before him "sat or knelt the flower of Japanese youth, eager to hear, and among them, with shaven heads and lappets of gold embroidery, the calm brethren of the yellow robe—the Buddhist monks." First he directed the attention of this unique audience to astronomy and pointed out that the great religions of the world were promulgated under the idea that the earth was the centre of things and that "the stars were hardly more than pretty mysterious lanterns lighted to spangle out night time."

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[4] *The Cabinet Portrait Gallery*, 1893.

But, he continued, in reality the greatness of our destiny consists, not in our being the centre of creation, but "in belonging at all to so glorious and visible a galaxy of life, with the invisible effulgence and infinite possibilities beyond."

Forty Years of Literary Activity

"Arnold had been everywhere, learned all languages, read everything and written about everything, sometimes as mere journalist, sometimes as critical thinker, sometimes as poet. In the forty years of his literary activity he had put a girdle round the world of language, of science and of religious thought. We look to him less for depth than for breadth, less for original research than for brilliance of exposition, and no one coming to him with this expectation will be greatly disappointed."[5]

Eugene Burnouf, Barthelmey Saint-Hillaire, Spence Hardy and other scholars of the early and middle 19th century had described Buddhism as "a gospel of negation." But as the century wore on, opinion began to shift. In 1872, Max Müller thought that the negative language of Buddhism was a later accretion from monkish orthodoxy and that when Nibbāna was explained in positive terms there emerged the authentic tradition of the Buddha. Rhys Davids agreed with this view. So did J.P. Clarke, the American pioneer of comparative religion. In his preface to *The Light of Asia,* Arnold argues that "a third of mankind would never have been brought to believe in blank abstractions, or in nothingness as the issue and crown of being."

The King of Siam, now Thailand, conferred on Arnold the Order of the White Elephant in recognition of his services to Buddhism. The Royal letter which accompanied the award while stating that Arnold's interpretation of Buddhism was not strictly orthodox, expressed His Majesty's gratitude for writing *The Light of Asia* "in the most widespread language in the world."

Restoration of Sacred places

Directly inspired by reading *The Light of Asia,* the Anagarika Dharmapala of Ceylon started his great missionary organization in India to revive Buddhism in the land of its birth, and to restore Buddhist sacred places such as the Buddhagaya to their rightful owners. Arnold was a member of the committee appointed for the purpose. He wrote a powerful article in *The Daily Telegraph*, the paper he edited, giving the story of the Buddhagaya and stressing the justice of the Buddhist claim. In 1889 he went to Japan and roused the Japanese Buddhists, who formed a society to promote interest in the Buddhagaya. On his second visit to Japan in 1892, he declared, in the course of an address, that he would gladly sacrifice his life if need be in so great a cause as the restoration of the Buddhagaya. So successful was his pleading that the society set about making plans to buy land near the sacred site and to send a party of Japanese Buddhist monks to the Buddhagaya. He wrote a friendly letter in Hindi to the Mahant, the owner of the sacred site, and sent it together with a copy of his translation of the Gita as proof of his goodwill to Hinduism. But nothing came of the negotiations. The final settlement of the Buddhagaya question, however, was in no small measure due to his efforts. It was a great achievement to create sympathy in the West for Buddhism. But an even more remarkable feat was the arousing of the Buddhist world itself to a realization of its own inheritance.

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[5] *The Cabinet Portrait Gallery,* 1893.

Arnold never regarded his admiration of Buddhism as involving any disloyalty to Christianity ; truth could not be diminished by being shared.[6]

Buddhist or Christian ?

But was Arnold a Buddhist ? Answering this question in a letter to the author, the late Mr. Francis Story states : "whatever may have been Arnold's personal convictions, he was careful to avoid making a public avowal of them, and even seemed to fear giving suspicion of them. He could not have hoped for the poet laureateship otherwise. And while non-Christians by birth have received knighthoods, the Establishment would have looked with acute disfavour upon a Christian-born English knight who changed his religion.

"Personally, I have no doubt Arnold was a Buddhist at heart. But many people in the West still feel that being a Buddhist does not exact any public avowal. It is not like Christianity, in which a failure to declare one's faith openly is reckoned an offence meriting punishment hereafter. And in Arnold's time, more than now, an open declaration of Buddhism by a prominent and titled man would have caused something of a scandal."

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[6] *Interpreter of Buddhism to the West by* Brooke Wright.

In his biography of Arnold, Dr. Brooke Wright states that in *The Light of the World* Arnold gives "the completest exposition of his religious views."

As against this, however, we have it recorded in Henry Stanley's diary that Arnold's "soul was not in his song, though there are beautiful passages in it, but it is the tone of an unbeliever." Stanley, it must be remembered, was the man who persuaded Arnold to write *The Light of the World.*

It is on record that after his Buddhist studies, Arnold abandoned the shooting of animals and birds, a pastime in which he revelled earlier in life. Isn't that an index to his observance of the first of the Five Buddhist Precepts ?

Counted as a co-religionist by many

Queen Victoria and Disraeli held Arnold in high esteem. He was knighted for his services to India and England. He visited Ceylon once, when the residents of Panadura, Colombo, and Kandy accorded him rousing receptions. It was at a large gathering of Buddhist monks at Panadura, then, as now, a Buddhist stronghold, that he mooted the idea of restoring Buddhist sacred sites in India to Buddhists. He expressed his admiration of the skill of Sinhalese women in making delicious sweetmeats. Many Buddhists in Ceylon count him as a co-religionist.

He died on 14 March, 1904.

LORD CHALMERS

Of the non-Buddhists who served Buddhism as Pāli scholars, Lord Chalmers is one of the best known. He described himself as a pupil and friend of Rhys Davids.

A High Churchman of England, he not only edited and translated Buddhist texts for the Pāli Text Society, but also contributed liberally to its funds.

Chalmers (then Sir Robert) arrived in Ceylon as its Governor in 1913. His fame as a Pāli scholar had preceded his arrival in the Island, and the local Pāli scholars, particularly the Buddhist monks, were jubilant. One of his first public engagements was to preside over the prize-giving at Vidyodaya Pirivena (Oriental College), Colombo. As he had studied Pāli in Roman script, the monks thought he could not correctly enunciate Pāli words, and they arranged an interpreter to render his English speech into Sinhalese ; but to their utter amazement he replied to their elaborate Pāli address of welcome in an extempore speech in choice Pāli, flawlessly enunciating every word. He concluded his half-hour address with the equivalent of the following : "May this noble Pāli language ever flourish in Lanka!"

"His study of Pāli gave him a special interest in Buddhists of Ceylon, but the work there did not call out his special qualities, though it gave him the opportunity of seeing Buddhist institutions and of making personal acquaintances with native Pāli scholars."[1]

Abandoned Classics for Science

Born on 18 August, 1858, Robert Chalmers was the only son of John and Juliet Chalmers. He went early to the City of London School, and as a John Carpenter scholar, "he was lucky to be in Edwin Abbot's Sixth Form during the most vigorous years of that great headmaster, when his pupils were very much alive to the fact that they were sharing the studies of an exact and fine scholar, an unflagging writer, an active controversialist.

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[1] British Academy Proceedings XXV, 1939.

He was thus one who carried on Abbot's influence in church, state, and letters to the credit of the Schoo land the City."

In 1877, Chalmers entered Oriel College, Oxford, as a classical scholar. He took a "First" in Classical Moderations, but abandoned classics and read science, obtaining a "Second" in the biology group. At one time he had the intention of taking to medicine as a career. In 1882 he topped the list of successful candidates in the open competitive examination for admission to the Higher Administrative Division of the Civil Service, and entered the Treasury.

"His progress at the Treasury was rapid ; he excelled in accountancy, statistics and finance. In 1903 he was an assistant secretary, but he was not quite happy there, and would have been glad to go as an Accountant-General in the Admirality : better things were, however, reserved for him. He went to the Board of Inland Revenue as Chairman in 1907, and during four years there built up a reputation for ability and astuteness.

Short Tenure as Governor of Ceylon

"In 1911 he became Permanent Secretary of the Treasury and Auditor of the Civil List. Two years later he moved to a more picturesque and more valuable post as Governor of Ceylon. To other attractions which Ceylon had for him was added his interest in Pali, of which, on its literary side, he was an acknowledged master. But the serious riots that occurred during his term of office presented problems which were not to his liking, nor, indeed, such as he could treat successfully. Severe things were said and published on the measures which he had taken, and his successor frankly condemned some of these.

"In any case, he had neither pleased the natives nor Europeans and was glad to return in 1916 as Joint Permanent Secretary to the Treasury. That office he filled for a period of three years, including an unrestful interlude during which he was induced by Mr. Asquith to try his hand at an uncongenial task as Under-Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He abandoned this with undisguised satisfaction after less than three months' trial."[2]

On his retirement from the Civil Service, Chalmers accepted the post of Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, in 1924 and remained there until 1931. His son had been a student at Peterhouse, and he had himself spent a vacation there, and knew the Fellows of the College. Although he had had no experience of academic work, he proved himself to be a great success.

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[2] Obituary of Chalmers in *The Times*, London..

In a letter to the author, Mr. H. Butterfield, Registrar of Peterhouse, Cambridge, states : "I seem to remember him (Chalmers) telling me that when he was a member of the Civil Service he felt that he had energies left over for a more academic kind of work and that he chose Pāli as a well defined area which he felt that he could cover. When he was here I heard him once or twice recommend a similar policy to students who were entering the Civil Service."

"It was a saying of Chalmers that every man ought to drive two horses, abreast, one for his business or profession and the other for some scholarly hobby which would give him relief from his work and occupation in his later days."[3] He chose his hobby early.

Best Evidence of his Scholarship

Prompted partly by his study of Sanskrit at the University, he took up the study of Pāli. Another attraction of Pāli was his enthusiasm for the work of the great scholar, Professor Rhys Davids. He became a pupil of Rhys Davids, and a member of the Pāli Text Society. He joined the company of scholars formed by Professor E. B. Cowell of Cambridge with the object of translating the *Jātaka* book, the first volume of which, published in 1895, and dedicated to Rhys Davids, was Chalmers' work, and was much appreciated by Cowell for its spirited vigour. "The best evidence of his (Chalmers') Pāli scholarship is in this translation."[4]

At the Paris Congress in 1897, Chalmers gave a learned address on the Pāli term *Tathāgata* which evoked much interest. From 1895 to 1902, under the guidance of Rhys Davids, he completed the first edition of the Pāli text of the Second Collection (*Nikāya*) in the first division (*Sutta Piṭaka*) : Discourses of the Buddha in the *Majjhima Nikāya* under the guidance of Rhys Davids

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[3] British Academy Proceedings XXV, 1939.

[4] Ibid.

(2 Vols. 1896-1902) : Translation, 1926-1927, as *Further Dialogues of the Buddha.* Work on the first edition had been commenced by V. Trenckner, the distinguished Danish philologist.

In his Cambridge period, Lord Chalmers produced his last work of scholarship—a metrical translation of the *Sutta Nipāta*, the earliest teachings of the Buddha in Pāli verse. This translation "is more remarkable for its style than its precise literary accuracy. He showed literary skill in his translations, sought out good English equivalents for technical terms of Buddhism, cut short the remorseless repetitions."[5]

Disinterested and Friendly Spirit

Chalmers presented his fine Pāli library to Miss I. B. Horner, the then Librarian of Newnham College, Cambridge, and now President of the Pāli Text Society.

"He was extremely hospitable and brought the College into touch with outside interests and distinguished persons. He was recognized at once as a disinterested and friendly spirit and his overflowing kindness, often secretly exercised, such as entertaining during the vacation at his own expense and in his own house, poorer scholars who could not afford to continue in residence, earned him much goodwill. He kept himself aloof from academic intrigues and never pursued power or influence."[6]

He was an LL. D. of Oxford, Cambridge, and St. Andrew's; D. Litt. Oxford, Fellow of Oriel College, a Trustee of the British Museum; Fellow of the British Academy, and President of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Lord Chalmers first married Maud Mary, daughter of J. G. Forde Piggott, in 1888. She died in 1923. There were two sons, one a professional soldier and the other a barrister. Both of them fell in World War I in 1915. His daughter married Sir Malcolm Stevenson. In 1935 Lord Chalmers married Iris Florence, widow of Professor R. Latta, and a daughter of Sir John Biles. There were no children by the second marriage, and as he died (at 80) without a surviving male child the peerage became extinct.

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5. British Academy Proceedings XXV, 1939.
6. London *Times* Obituary of Chalmers.

F. L. WOODWARD

The name of F. L. Woodward scintillates among Pāli scholars who edited and translated sacred texts of the Buddhists for the Pāli Text Society. But Woodward is remembered in Ceylon more for his great service to the education of Buddhist boys than for his profound Pāli scholarship.

It is not generally known that he spent £2,000 of his patrimony at the beginning of the present century to erect buildings for a Buddhist school in the south of Ceylon—Mahinda College, Galle—in which he served for sixteen years as Principal without drawing the salary attached to the post. The school funds met his bare expenses. A confirmed bachelor, he lived on a purely vegetable diet. He invariably wore a white suit while in Ceylon. He never went home on a holiday. Simplicity was the keynote of his life, which moved Mrs. Rhys Davids once to describe him as a "recluse."

The third son of the Rev. W. Woodward of Saham, Norfolk, England, Frank Lee Woodward was born on 13 April, 1871. As a boy of eight he mastered the Elementary Latin Course, and began the study of Greek, French and German. In 1879, he joined Christ Hospital, where he won the Latin and French prizes on three occasions. Besides his academic brilliance, he Possessed remarkable athletic prowess. At the age of 14 he was a member of the House Fifteen, and two years later was a prefect and one of the First Fifteen. For several years he held the record for Putting the Weight and annexed prizes in most athletic events.

Pupil and teacher became close friends

At eighteen he entered Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge winning the first classical scholarship, and at nineteen was awarded the Gold Medal for Latin verse and an exhibition. He became College organist, won the prize for Latin essay and passed the Classical Tripos examination with honours in the third year of his admission to the University. He also held office as Rugby Football Captain, Vice-captain of Boats, Athletic Secretary and full-back in the Association Football Team.

डा. डिल्ली रमण
रेग्मी स्मारक

He served the Rugby Preparatory School for a short period as an assistant master. Later, he became classics master at the Royal Grammar School, Worcester, where he taught for three years until 1897. While there he rowed the Worcester City Boat to victory at many a regatta, and won honour for Worcester and the Midland Counties on the football field.

Stamford School, an ancient foundation in Lincolnshire, was where he next served. He taught there for five years from 1895 as second master. E. M. Hare, the well-known Pāli scholar was one of his pupils. Later, he and Hare became close friends. During his five-year period at Stamford he devoted a good deal of his time to the study of both Western and Eastern philosophy, Pāli and Sanskrit, English literature, and religion. It was he who persuaded Hare to study Pāli.

Woodward joined the Theosophical Society in 1902. He described his becoming a member of it as "the most important event" in his life, for it led to his acceptance of the Buddha's teachings.

In a letter to Col. H. S. Olcott, the then President of the Theosophical Society, Woodward offered his service to the East, and Olcott gladly accepted the offer, for at that time the latter had been requested, by Buddhists to find a head for Mahinda College, in Ceylon. On 1 August, 1903, Woodward landed in the town of Galle.

More than the architect of Mahinda

He found Mahinda College housed in an old Dutch building in the busy part of the Fort of Galle. The attendance was only 60. His high academic attainments and long experience as a teacher in public schools in England soon became known all over the country and parents began to remove their sons from other schools and send them to Mahinda College. One of them, now a nonagenarian, Mr. Vincent de Silva, says that he still remembers the Latin that Woodward taught him. He often speaks of his old teacher with affection and gratitude. The numbers on the roll rapidly rose to 300—the maximum that could be accommodated in the building.

Woodward himself selected the present site of Mahinda, some public-spirited residents of the area donating the lands.

He was not merely the architect of the school, but its foreman of works as well. He was often seen with a trowel in hand among masons. Sometimes he would be on the scaffoldings taking measurements. His identity is concealed in the name of "Vanapala" (Sinhalese for Woodward) among the names on a brass-plate in a set of classrooms.

Woodward was a strict disciplinarian. He set a very high tone in the college and it made rapid progress under his able direction. He, however, sought no publicity. He was revered for his self-sacrifice, his generosity and his erudition. One of his many efforts was directed at establishing Sinhalese as a subject for the Cambridge Local examinations which were then held in Ceylon. He was a pioneer of the Ceylon University movement.

He used to wear the simple garb of a white shirt and white cloth and to observe the Eight Precepts of Buddhism on full moon days, setting a noble example to his pupils and neighbours. Occasionally he would offer alms to Buddhist monks in the school hall, himself serving the meals with great humility, and would himself wash and wipe the feet of the monks as they came in single file for the alms-giving.

He taught various classes for several hours a day, besides attending to administrative matters. He knew every pupil of the school both by name, and by nickname—all given by him and drawn from Shakespearian characters. One of them was Caliban.

Regular donations to Society

Woodward left Galle on 7 October, 1919, for Tasmania, where he grew apples for his livelihood, and edited and translated Pāli texts. He made regular donations to the Pāli Text Society.

In 1936, upon the publication of 15 volumes of a complete translation of the *Dīgha, Majjhima, Saṁyutta* and *Aṅguttara Nikāyas*, Mrs. Rhys Davids declared: "More specially our tribute is due to him (Woodward) who has borne the major burden, translating alone six of the fifteen volumes, giving aid in a seventh and now crowning our labours with this last volume. To all this must be added his recently issued translations of two Minor Anthologies in the Secred Books of the Buddhist series *Udāna* and

Iti- vuttaka, and his first edition of the saṁyutta Commentary. Very worthily has he stood in the breach left by the untimely death of Richard Morris and Edmund Hardy. That we can look forward in a few years to completing our scheduled programme is largely due to him."

Mrs. Rhys Davids added that Woodward had undertaken all those labours while resting from "agricultural toil", and not looking for any reward save that which good work done brings.

E.M. HARE

An Englishman who was in the tea business in Ceylon from 1918 to 1950 earned a high reputation as a Pāli scholar and competent editor and translator of Buddhist texts. He was Edward Miles Hare.

Born on 4 March, 1893, Hare hailed from a Norfolk family on the east side of England. He was educated at Stamford Grammar School, Lincolnshire, where F. L. Woodward, before he came out to Ceylon in 1903, had been an assistant master. Hare came to know Woodward as his teacher, and in later life the two became very close friends. Inspired by Woodward, he began the study of Pāli, and by the time he came out to Ceylon as a businessman he had mastered the language.

While engaged in business in Ceylon, he spent his leisure hours in editing and translating Buddhist texts for the Pāli Text Society, London. His rendering into English of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (Gradual Sayings), volumes 2 and 3 (1934-1935), and *Sutta Nipāta* (Woven Cadences), 1945, is considered outstanding.

On his return to England after retirement in 1950, he undertook the enormous task of editing the Pāli Tipiṭakam Concordance from material collected to some extent by himself and a few other scholars, but principally by his friend F. L. Woodward. Working at great speed, he produced in all 10 parts of the Concordance, i. e. volume 1 in seven parts and volume 2 in three parts, the value of which has been acclaimed by Pāli scholars in all parts of the world.

Always a generous donor to the Pāli Text Society, Hare had bequeathed it a sum of £ 1,000 with the wish that the money be applied, if possible, towards the cost of publishing the Concordance.

He died on 26 October, 1955.[1]

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[1] Largely based on Hare's Obituary in PTS journal.

GEORGE TURNOUR

George Turnour's translation into English of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, the great chronicle of Ceylon, in the 19th century, was called by Rhys Davids "the foundation of all Pāli scholarship."

A member of the Ceylon Civil Service, George Turnour, while serving in Ratnapura (City of Gems), came in contact with a learned Buddhist monk from whom he learnt Pāli and Sinhalese. He read the *Mahāvaṁsa*, and it did not take him long to realize its importance not only to Ceylon but also to the West. So he decided to translate it into English.

He obtained a copy of the *Mahāvaṁsa Ṭīkā*, a prose commentary on the chronicle, which is in Pāli verse, and which Sinhalese scholars had preserved side by side with the original *Mahāvaṁsa*. Had it not been for the commentary, Turnour would have found it very difficult to give an exact rendering of the *Mahāvaṁsa* in English.

For ten long years Turnour persevered with the great task, guided by his friend, the scholar-monk. And in 1837 he published his combined edition and translation of thirty-eight chapters of the one-hundred chapters of the *Mahāvaṁsa*. The publication created no little interest in the West.

Turnour's translation spurred the Colonial office in Westminster to evince interest in the ruined cities of Ceylon, and in 1868 the Governor of Ceylon, Sir Hercules Robinson, appointed a commission to make a record of all rock inscriptions in the country. This was the beginning of Ceylon's archaeological department, and through its efforts it was possible to identify the stupendous dagobas or stupas, the palatial mansions that housed the monks in the days of Śinhalese kings, and the vast irrigation works that helped food production. The authorities had the jungle that overran the ruined cities cleared: they also restored irrigation works.

Elated by the success of his publication, Turnour took upon himself the translation of the second half of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, but ill-health prevented him from doing so. He died in Naples in 1843, the year in which Rhys Davids was born.

NANAMOLI THERA

Osbert Moore, an Englishman, who graduated from Oxford, and served as an officer in the British army during World War II, spent eleven years in Ceylon as a Buddhist monk, and died there in 1960.

An erudite Pāli scholar, he translated into English the abstruse *Visuddhimagga*, the post-canonical commentary on Buddhism by the illustrious Indian Buddhist monk Buddhaghoṣa, besides a number of canonical works for the Pāli Text Society.

Meetings with Ceylonese Monks

Born in England on 25 June, 1905, Osbert Moore was educated at Exeter College, Oxford. He served in the British army in Italy where he had a friend, Harold Musson, also an army officer. Both of them became interested in Buddhism after reading an Italian work on Buddhism entitled *Dottrina del Risveglio* by J. Evola.

Back in England after the war, Moore joined the B.B.C. and lived in the same flat with his war-time friend Musson. During this time he and Musson translated Evola's book into English and published it under the title of *The Doctrine of Awakening*.[1] To further their knowledge of Buddhism, the two of them visited Ceylon in 1949, and met the German monk Nyanatiloka Maha Thera at the Island Hermitage, Dodanduwa, Ceylon, and Pelane Vajiranana Maha Nayaka Thera at Vajiramaya, Colombo. Nyanatiloka ordained them in 1949 as novices. The next year they received the *Upasampada* or Higher Ordination with Vajiranana as their preceptor.

At the age of 49, Nanamoli applied himself assiduously to the study of Pāli, Sinhalese, and Burmese, and quickly mastered these languages. Equipped thus, he began a brilliant study of the Dhamma. Soon he became an erudite scholar.

Besides the *Visuddhimagga*, he translated for the Pāli Text Society, London, the *Paṭisambhidā Magga*, *Nettipakarana*, and *Petakopadesa*. These translations provide ample evidence of his sound grasp of the Dhamma. He also wrote a biography of the Buddha and translated the *Majjhima Nikāya.*

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[1] Luzac and Co., London.

His wants were few and he scrupulously observed over 200 rules of the Code of Discipline a monk is expected to observe. Up to the time of his death—a period of eleven years—he wore the yellow robe presented to him at his ordination. He rarely wore sandles.

Life—a joke in rather bad taste

"He was of a calm and understanding nature", writes Mr. Ananda Pereira, Deputy Solicitor-General, Ceylon, in a tribute to his memory. "He spoke quietly, in gentle, cultured tones. His words were pearls of wisdom, and through them ran a silver thread of humour. Speaking of life, he once said that at times it reminded him of a joke in rather bad taste. One feels that he met death too in the same spirit. He had faced it often enough, in its most violent form during the war, and it held no terrors for him. And surely, death has seldom come to a man more unexpectedly or inappropriately.

Nananoti endeared himself to all those with whom he came into contact. Pleasantness was personified in him. It was a delight to listen to him.

His untimely death was a great loss to Buddhism.

E. J. THOMAS

"The real greatness of Buddhist morality is in the truly ethical character of its teaching,"[1] declared Dr. E. J. Thomas, one of England's most brilliant Buddhist scholars.

His *The History of Buddhist Thought*, which he wrote in 1935, has been acclaimed as a penetrating analysis of Buddhism, particularly Theravāda. Equally brilliant are his *The Life of Buddha as Legend and History*, and *Early Buddhist Scriptures* (translation from Pāli), *The Road to Nirvāna* (translation from Pāli), *The Quest of Enlightenment* (translations from the scriptures of the Indian Sanskrit Schools), and *Ratana Sutta* (translation from Pāli)—a wordrune ascribed to the Buddha.

He is remembered with affection and gratitude by innumerable Pāli scholars both in the East and the West for the great encouragement he gave them in their studies.

Bequeathed Library to University

Thomas loved Ceylon as a recognized home of Pāli, and he bequeathed his entire library to the University of Ceylon, Peradeniya.

Born on 30 July, 1869, Edward Joseph Thomas was the son of a gardener at Thornhill Rectory in Yorkshire during the incumbency of the Rev. J. I. Brookes, "a man of some wealth, part of which it was his pleasure to spend in assisting promising local boys to a grammar school education. But E.J. Thomas was not one of them, though he was of a studious turn, and almost as early as he could remember used to save his pennies till they would buy something at the secondhand bookshops in the adjacent towns."

At the age of 14 he left school and went to work as a gardener for the next 12 years; "but we should be wrong in interpreting this as a reluctant apprenticeship to his father's trade; despite an unlucky handicap of colour-blindness, he retained all his life a profound love of flowers and gardening; and he did well at it. But he busied himself in other ways too; for when in 1894 he went to spend a year as a student gardener at Kew he already had the London Matriculation Certificate (1st Division) in Botany, Mechanics, Latin, Greek, English, and Mathematics. While there he obtained certificates in Elementary Physics and Chemistry and in various branches of Botany. It was presumably during this period that he decided to devote himself to linguistic studies.

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[1] *The History of Buddhist Thought,* Routledge Kegan Paul.

Most eminent English-speaking authority

"In 1896 he entered the University of St. Andrew's, where under John Burnet, Professor of Greek, he eventually graduated M.A. (1900-1901) with First Class Honours in Classics. His other subjects of examination were Mathematics, Moral Philosophy, and Greek. In this last, which foreshadowed his subsequent philological learning, he was a pupil of A. N. Jannaris, author of what is still perhaps the only scholarly dictionary of English and Modern Greek. In 1903, at the age of 34, ... Thomas came to Emmanuel College as an Advance Student, drawn probably by the already wide repute of Peter Giles; at all events, philology was his special subject in the Classical Tripos Part II which in 1905 gave him his Cambridge B. A. It was by this course that he came to the study of Sanskrit and Pāli, and so of the Buddhist scriptures and religion, on which he became, in time, the most eminent English-speaking authority. His appointment in 1909 as an Under-Librarian, saw him make Cambridge his home for the remainder of his long life. For many years he was in charge there of all foreign books, and his knowledge of languages continued to grow phenomenally in all directions; any book on any unrecognized tongue would be referred to him, and he could usually identify it; but for the latter part of his life at the University Library he was head of the Oriental Languages Department, and when he "retired" in 1940, he was almost at once asked to take charge of the Library of the Oriental Faculty, where he worked until about 1950. Though his publications include an edition of Plautus's *Anlularia* (1913) and a Danish conversation-grammar (1926), his really important works were all concerned with Buddhism : *The Life of Buddha as Legend and History* (1927), *The History of Buddhist Thought* (1933), and a number of volumes of translations of Buddhist scriptures, the latest of which were published as recently as 1952. In this field Thomas was the master scholar, not only in Cambridge but throughout Europe and beyond; even in his eighty-sixth year and later he was in demand, examining research theses, reviewing books, and corresponding with scholars from Holland to India who sought his advice or his contribution to learned publications.

Teaching—Modestly and Effectively

"He was a D. Litt of his old University of St. Andrew's; the London School of Oriental and African Studies made him an Honorary Fellow; as erudite a man as Professor Hector Chadwick could declare that Thomas was the most learned man in Cambridge; but there were very few who were even capable of knowing how much he knew, and he would have been the last man in the world even to dream of telling them. He was, indeed, a most modest, shy and retiring man; knowing so many foreign tongues he was yet never heard to utter a sentence in any of them; even in his own he asked to be excused when invited to speak at a Library Staff Annual Dinner. But when asked for information or advice, whether in the library or elsewhere (and if he had his bowler on he was not officially there), he was unfailingly kind and helpful; he still knew the British flora by rote; but in far more unexpected subjects he could give an answer; on almost all he could set the enquirer in the way of finding it."

"He examined for authorities as far apart as Dublin and Ceylon; perhaps he really did more teaching than if he had been formally a lecturer or professor, and it was done effectively because so modestly. Professor Das Gupta's preface to his *History of Indian Philosophy* reveals one who was indebted to his help; and there must have been hundreds more. Those who as undergraduates have had him among the audience for their papers at the Emmanuel Classical Society would have been appalled to know before what massive learning they delivered themselves; but he never let on. He was signally silent in company, but could take a quiet pleasure in such occasions as the "E" Book Club auction, or a river outing of the library staff, when his favourite shag (carried generally in a paper bag) took the place of small-talk. He had married, but his German wife died in the 1920s. So for many years he lived quietly in lodgings, and later with a house-keeper, childless, but very fond of children, whose society he cultivated, like flowers, with a happy devotion."[2]

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2. Emmanuel College Magazine, Volume XI. Reproduced by kind permission of Dr. F.H. Stubbings, the author of the obituary.

W. F. STEDE

A collaborator and close friend of Rhys Davids, Dr. William Friderich Stede was a German by birth, but was regarded as an Englishman, and spent the greater part of his life in England. He was held in such high esteem by Western Pāli scholars that he was elected to succeed Mrs. Rhys Davids as President of the Pāli Text Society upon her death.

During World War I Stede was interned in England, but in 1915 Rhys Davids obtained for him sufficient freedom to be engaged by the Pāli Text Society for compiling and editing the Pāli-English Dictionary which Rhys Davids had already begun.

He went to live near Rhys Davids' home in Chipstead and walked every Tuesday afternoon for discussions with the latter. Despite the fact that Rhys Davids was older than him by 39 years, there developed between them a friendship based not only on a common interest in Pāli scholarship but also on *metta* or loving-kindness. "What Rhys Davids has been to me nobody but he and I knew," said Stede in a tribute to the memory of Rhys Davids. "What I thought of him he must have felt when I confided my troubles to him sitting by his side. What he was to me I realized each time I looked into his clear eyes and felt the touch of his hand. Kindness, sympathy, gentleness—in one word *metta*, on which he loved to quote the *Iti-vuttaka*—was the prominent trait of his character. I have his picture in my mind, and I shall always remember him as my *kalyanamitta*."

Pāli-English Dictionary Completed

Born in Germany on 9 June, 1882, William Friderich Stede studied in the Universities of Gottingen, Leipzig, and Jena. He graduated from Leipzig in Sanskrit, Pāli, and Comparative Philology. From 1908 to 1911 he was an assistant lecturer in Teutonic Philology, Sanskrit, and Gothic in Liverpool University. The thesis for which he received his doctorate in 1913 was published in Leipzig in 1914 under the title of *Die Gespensterge chichton des Peta Vatthu.*

On the completion of his stupendous work of the Pāli-

English Dictionary ten years later, Stede began his long connexion with the London School of Oriental and African Studies, becoming additional lecturer in Pāli in 1926, lecturer in Pāli and Sanskrit in 1928, senior lecturer in 1933 and Reader in 1945, a post which he held in spite of chronic ill-health, never missing a day's teaching until his retirement in 1949. He was succeeded by his daughter and only child, Mrs. D.A.L. Maskell, who edited the Pāli text *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī*. Her early death in 1956 was naturally a source of deep grief to him.

He was examiner in Pāli for London University degrees between 1925 and 1958, in Pāli and Buddhist civilization for the Burmese and Ceylon Civil Service from 1930 to 1939, and in Pāli for the University of Ceylon from 1944 to 1958.

Besides his teaching and examining, his many articles and reviews, and work on the Pāli-English Dictionary, Stede found time to edit the *Cūllaniddesa* for the Pāli Text Society in 1918, the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, volumes II and III, in 1931 and 1932; he compiled a list of *Padas* of the *Thera-therīgāthas* for the society's journal in 1927, and helped his daughter with her edition of the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī*, published a few months after her death in 1956. He married in 1912 and his wife survived him. He died on 5 July, 1958.

"Dr. Stede was a colleague and teacher who was loved and respected by all with whom he came in contact", states the journal of the Pāli Text Society in a tribute to his memory, for with his kind heart and upright character he combined wide and accurate linguistic scholarship and informed and balanced views on questions of Buddhist philosophy."[1]

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[1] Based on tribute to him in the PTS journal.

ROBERT CHILDERS

Robert Caesar Childers became famous among Western Pāli scholars by the two-volume publication in 1872 and 1875 of his Dictionary of the Pāli language. Rhys Davids appraised it as a "great and important work not only the most valuable contribution yet made to the study of Pāli, but the indispensable means by which further progress could be made." This appraisal was made in 1875, and the dictionary served its purpose for the next forty years. Later, Rhys Davids himself found it inadequate to meet the demands of the Pāli Text Society.

Childers entered the Ceylon Civil Service in 1856. In his spare time he studied Pāli and was impressed by the beauty and sublimity of the Buddha's teachings enshrined in the Pāli canon. He resigned in 1864—the very year in which Rhys Davids entered the Ceylon Civil Service. Returning to England, he engaged himself in Pāli scholarship, collaborating with Fausball, Oldenberg and a few other scholars.

One of his earliest works was a translation of the *Khuddaka Pāṭha* which was published in the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1870. His articles on Nibbāna aroused much controversy and his friend Rhys Davids came to his assistance in 1878, when he gave his mature judgment on the subject in his book *Buddhism*.

Unfortunately, the available details about Dr. Childers are meagre. The author's efforts to secure fuller information about him proved unsuccessful.

The death of Dr. Childers at a comparatively early age was a great loss to Buddhism in the West.

MISS I. B. HORNER

The only surviving link with the glorious past is Miss I. B. Horner the present President of the Pāli Text Society, the fourth in line since the inception of the Society in 1881.

A Pāli scholar of the front rank, reticence about her own achievements is a prominent trait in her character. She would gladly give one all details she knows about other Pāli scholars; if she does not know the full facts on a particular subject, she will always set the inquirer in the way of finding them. But where she herself is concerned she remains uncommunicative. Pressed for an answer to a question about herself, she would give only the bare facts in a few words. The author therefore congratulates himself on the fact that he has succeeded in eliciting answers to a few questions about herself.

"How did you become interested in Buddhism ?" was one of the questions.

She answered : "I became interested in Pāli Buddhism because I had a highly intelligent grandmother who had an equally intelligent cousin who was a friend of Professor Rhys Davids and of the Miss Foley who became his wife: they were engaged to be married in that cousin's garden. I probably heard my grandmother and her cousin discuss Buddhism, and at the age of 12 I asked both Professor Rhys Davids and Mrs. Rhys Davids some questions about it. Alternatively, you might like to think that I was once born in a Buddhist country."

Asked whether she was a Buddhist or not, Miss Horner replied : "I accept most of the Buddha's teachings, but some that is even prior to Buddhism is hard to accept—others are easier but are not accepted by Ven. Buddhaghoṣa, the great commentator."

Prodigious work over four dacades

A woman of remarkable intellect and astonishing energy, Miss Horner has been a prodigious worker in the field of Pāli Buddhism for over four decades. Age has not impaired her efficiency. An uncanny mental alertness still enables her to detect the minutest flaw in a script submitted to her for scrutiny. She would not overlook even the omission of a comma. Years ago she read the authors' manuscripts for a well-known London publisher.

Miss Horner is a member of the Supervisory Committee of the massive Critical Pāli Dictionary which is being compiled in Denmark, the home of world-famous Pāli philologists such as Trenckner and Dines Andersen, with international support and collaboration. She is often consulted by Pāli scholars on knotty points. Lord Chalmers, himself an eminent Pāli scholar, was so impressed by her erudition that he gifted her his entire Pāli library before his death. She is in possession of Rhys Davids' interleaved copy of Dr. Childers' Pāli-English Dictionary in which "he noted every new word, illustrative passage and unusual grammatical construction that came to light as more and more Pāli texts were edited in Roman characters."

Isaline Blew Horner entered Newnham College, Cambridge, in 1914, and passed the Moral Science Tripos, Part 1, in 1917. From 1918 she was in turn assistant to the Librarian and Librarian and Fellow, Newnham College, Sarah Smithson Research Fellow, Associate and Associate Fellow from 1939 to 1949. She was Student of Pāli Buddhism in 1936.

Miss Horner first visited Ceylon in1923. Since then she has been to Ceylon several times, and addressed local audiences on Buddhist themes. She gave a brilliant exposition entitled *The Basic Position of Sila* in Colombo in 1950 (the 9th Dona Alpina Ratnayake Trust Lecture) which has been printed and widely circulated. She also gave an illuminating lecture on *Some Aspects of Buddhism* at Vidyodaya University of Ceylon in 1962. This too has been published. In recognition of her services to Pāli Buddhism, the University of Ceylon, Peradeniya, awarded her the honorary degree of D. Litt. She has visited India and Burma as well, and is a contributor to Buddhist journals in India, Burma, Ceylon, England and elsewhere.

Historical Study of Arahant Ideal

Women Under Primitive Buddhism[1] (1930) was her first book. It gives a comprehensive and lively account of the part played by Indian women in the 6th century B.C. It was the first work of its kind to be published in the West.

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[1] William Routledge and Sons.

Her next work, *The Early Buddhist Theory of Man Perfected*,[2] which appeared in 1934, deals with the Arahant ideal. In a review of it in *Buddhism in England*, Mrs. Rhy Davids describes the book as "a careful historical study," and states : "The author, who is also engaged in efficient research as editor and translator of Pāli texts, has with this volume placed us greatly in her debt."

Miss Horner is regarded as one of the ablest editors and translators of Pāli texts. She edited in 1933, 1937 and 1938 volumes III, IV and V of *Papañcasūdanī* and in 1946 *Madhuratthavilāsinī*. Her translations of Pāli texts are couched in pellucid prose. Between 1954 and 1959 she translated volumes I, II, and III of the *Majjhima Nikāya*; two volumes of *Milindapañho*, *Anthology of Early Buddhist Poetry* (Ceylon 1963) ; *The Living Thoughts of Gotama the Buddha* (in collaboration with Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy, 1948) ; the section on Elders in *Buddhist Texts Through the Ages* by Dr. Edward Conze (1964); and *Ten Jātaka Stories* (Pāli and English facing, 1954).

To this formidable list must be added her magnum opus, the translation in six big volumes of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* or the *Book of the Discipline*, which she began in 1938 and completed in 1966. This work is considered the definitive translation of the *Vinaya*. It will remain a monument to her great scholarship and industry. In her masterly introduction to it she states :

"Practically every conceivable thing affecting monastic life for monks and nuns, practically every conceivable relation with other human beings, whether fellow-monks or nuns or the laity, are brought under review and legislated for in minutest detail through the seven classes of offences, through the allowances, and through the most important and regularly recurring events in a monk's life : Ordination, Observance, Invitation, the rains-residence, the making up of new robe-material, through the seven formal acts of the Order, beginning with that of censure, and through suspension of the *Patimoksha*. It is a complete system, a very precise organization, marked throughout by the humaneness and reasonableness of Gotama, the codifier to whom with but few exceptions every ruling is ascribed."

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[2] Williams and Norgate.

Beautiful stories for the young reader

Miss Horner's translation of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* is quite unlike translations of other Buddhist texts. Many of its pages are filled with beautiful renderings of stories that will thrill the young reader and horrify the puritan.

Professor and Mrs. Rhys Davids and Dr. Stede were Miss Horner's predecessors in the office of President of the Pāli Text Society. She succeeded the last named in 1959, and has since then borne the brunt of the work. She is assisted by the Vice-president, Professor Sir Harold Bailey, and the Honorary Secretary, Mr. R. E. Iggleden. The experience she gained by her close association with Professor and Mrs. Rhys Davids, coupled with her undoubted ability and efficiency, has made her a worthy successor to them.

It must be stated here that Miss Horner gave a donation of £ 500 sterling to purchase the site of the London Buddhist Vihara.

Among the present benefactors of Buddhism in the West, the name of Miss Horner stands out prominently. She deserves our homage.

ANANDA METTEYYA THERA

The second Englishman to be ordained a Buddhist monk was Charles Henry Allan Bennett, the first being Gordon Douglas, who was ordained in Colombo in 1899. He died in Burma in 1905 as Bhikkhu Asoka. Bennett was ordained in Colombo in 1901 under the name of Ananda Metteyya, and went to Burma the next year. He was the first to lead a Buddhist Mission to the West from Burma.

Born in London on 8 December, 1872, Bennet was the son of an engineer. He was himself a student of science. In 1890 he read Sir Edwin Arnold's *The Light of Asia* and was so inspired by it that he visited Ceylon in 1898 to become a Buddhist monk. He applied himself assiduously to the study of the Buddha's teachings enshrined in the Pāli canon, and entered the Order three years later. He gave his first sermon in Colombo in 1901 on the Four Noble Truths.

Ananda Metteyya founded in Burma in 1903, with the co-operation of Dr. E. Rost, an English illustrated review called *The Buddhist*, as well as a Buddhist society for the propagation of Buddhism in Britain. This review had a good circulation in the British Isles. One of its regular contributors was Bhikkhu Silacāra, the third Briton to become a Buddhist monk.

The Buddhist carried advance information about a projected mission to England from Burma, and in preparation for it the Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland was formed in London with Professor T. W. Rhys Davids as President and a distinguished Council. In April 1908, Ananda Metteyya arrived in England at the head of the first Buddhist Mission to the West, and became the heart of the new organization. The work of this society, and its organ, *The Buddhist Review*, considerably widened the dissemination of the Dhamma in the West.

For sixteen years the Society proclaimed the Dhamma in Britain, and when, in 1923, Ananda Metteyya died, his place was filled by another British Buddhist in the person of Francis J. Payne, a British Civil Servant.

Ananda Metteyya was a profound scholar but not a popular preacher. He wrote *The Wisdom of the Aryas*[1] and numerous booklets and articles on various aspects of the Dhamma.

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[1] Luzac & Co.

BHIKKHU SILACARA

Bhikkhu Silacara, whose lay name was J. P. M'Kechnie, was an exemplary Buddhist monk who served Buddhism well both in the East and the West for more than a quarter of a century.

He became well known in the English-speaking Buddhist world as the author of a number of readable works on Buddhism and as the translator of popular German works of Paul Dahlke and George Grimm. He was an effective preacher too.

Born of Scottish-English parents in 1872, he lost his father when still a child and was brought up by an uncle and aunt together with their own children. He attended a night school, and as a youngester earned his own livelihood. He was fond of reading, his favourite authors being Huxley, Tyndall, and Schopenhauer. Dissatisfied with life, he even contemplated suicide. Luckily at this time he came upon a Buddhist periodical. What he read with particular interest was an article on Nibbāna.

This set him thinking. "Here is a religion, I said to myself, an actual living religion, not a theory in a book but a way of life lived by a large number of my fellowmen, which knows nothing of the miraculous, of the incredible, but instead knows only of the unusual, the extraordinary which on due examination becomes quite simply the explicable and the natural," says Silacara. "Thus did I commune within myself after reading the articles in the Buddhist magazine.

"In the meantime, a grand-uncle of whose existence I was ignorant had died and I was discovered to be the only heir to his property. I was thus in easy circumstances, no longer under the necessity to employ myself. So I wrote at once to the editor of *The Buddhist* in Burma, offering my free services. My offer was accepted, and I went to Burma. There I studied Pāli, and entered the Order of Monks."

Among his numerous works are: *First Fifty Discourses of the Buddha*; *The Noble Eightfold Path*; *The Dhammpada or Way of*

Truth; *Young People's Life of the Buddha*.[1] He has also translated the *Majjhima Nikāya* and the German works of Paul Dahlke and George Grimm.

Ill-health militated against his continuing the life of a Buddhist monk and he became a layman towards the end of his life. He died in England in 1951.

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[1] Luzac and Co.

SAṄGHARAKSHITA STHAVIRA

A brilliant interpreter of the Buddha Dharma, Saṅgharakshita Sthavira is the only British Buddhist monk of over 20 years standing.

After an absence of 20 years he has returned from India and the East and now resides at the Hampstead Vihara. Currently he leads a group in London called The Friends of the Western Buddhist Order.

For two years he roamed India as a wandering mendicant and was ordained a *samanera* (novice) in North India in 1949, receiving the *upasampada* (Higher Ordination) the next year. He founded the Vihara of the Three Ways in Kalimpong, where he assisted the movement of mass conversion of Untouchables to Buddhism.

Well versed in Pāli, Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese, Saṅgharakshita has taken the Mahāyāna Bodhisattva vow, and has received Vajrayāna initiation from his Tibetan teachers.

He was born in London in 1925. Buddhism attracted him at the age of 14 when he read Madam H. P. Blavastsky's *Isis Unveiled*. He has visited all parts of the East.

The contents of his book, *The Three Jewels*,[1] reveal his masterly grasp of Buddhism. He wholeheartedly agrees with Dr. Edward Conze's conclusion that "the doctrines of the Buddha conceived in its full breadth, width, majesty and grandeur, comprise all those teachings which are linked to the original teaching by historical continuity, and which work out methods leading to the extinction of individuality by eliminating the belief in it."

Criticism of sectarian approach to Buddhism

"Unfortunately," comments Saṅgharakshita, "some corners of the Buddhist world have not yet awoken to the truth of these worlds. Books, pamphlets and articles continue to be produced which naively present a single branch as the whole tree. This is not to say that the branch is not a noble branch, nor that individual accounts of the different Buddhist schools are not needed. We refer to something quite different; the practice of presenting as complete accounts of Buddhism what are in fact expositions of the tenets of one school based on a highly selective reading of a single branch of canonical literature, usually the Pāli *Tipiṭaka*. Some writers go to the extent of explicitly repudiating as 'not the pure Dhamma' all Buddhist traditions but their own. Despite occasional absurdities of this kind, however, the sectarian type of approach to Buddhism is fortunately now on the wane. Throughout the Buddhist world the conviction is steadily gaining ground that so far as the Dharma is concerned the truth, to apply the Hegelian dictum, is the whole."

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[1] Rider and Company, 1967.

Of the Buddhist doctrine of karma, Sangharakshita states that "the word Karma is often employed in a gravely erroneous manner. Some writers make it mean not only action, its literal meaning, but the result of action, for which Buddhist literature reserves separate terms such as *karmavipāka* and *karmaphala*. Others use it in the sense of fate or destiny, sometimes even going so far as to maintain that, according to Buddhism, whatever happens to us, whether pleasant or painful, comes about as the result of previous karma.... Buddhism maintains that involuntary actions, whether those of body, speech or mind, do not constitute karma and cannot therefore bring about the results accruing to karma. This does not mean that such actions produce no results at all : the unintentional dropping of a brick on our own toes hurts no less than if we had done it deliberately, perhaps, more so. It only means that unwilled actions do not modify character. The confusion arises because the fact that according to Buddhism there is a relation of cause and effect between karma, or act of will, and *karmavipāka*, the fruit of that act in the form of pleasant or painful experience, has led some unwary students to jump to the conclusion that the law of karma and the law of cause and effect are synonymous. Karma (or more correctly karma and *karmavipāka*) is only one particular type of cause-effect relation. The *Nikāya/Āgama* discourses represent the Buddha as repeatedly condemning the doctrine of fatalism and as declaring that though he teaches that every willed action produces an experienced effect he does not teach that all experienced effects are products of willed action or karma.

Danger of Perverting the Teaching

"This important distinction is elaborated in the formula of the five *niyamas*, or different orders of cause-effect or conditionality obtaining in the universe. They are *utu-niyama*, the physical inorganic order; *bīja-niyama*, the physical organic or biological order; *mano-niyama*, (non-volitional) mental order; *karma-niyama*, volitional order; and *dharma-niyama*, transcendental order. To distinguish effects produced by one *niyama* from those produced by another is not always easy. Some effects, in fact, can be brought about by any *niyama*. Suppose there is a man suffering from fever. The complaint may be due to a sudden change of temperature (*utu-niyama*), or to the presence of a germ (*bīja-niyama*) or to mental strain or worry, or to tension due to experiences taking place in the *dhyānas* (*mano-niyama*), or to the fact that in a previous life he had harmed someone (*karma-niyama*), or to chemical and cellular changes occurring in the body consequent upon transcendental realization (*dharma-niyama*)."

"Buddhists are urged to make every effort to remove disease, privation, and want in all their ignoble, soul-crippling, self-destroying forms because not being enlightened they cannot know by which *niyama* they have been brought about."

"One should be careful not to pervert the Buddha's Teaching by arguing that, for example, poverty is invariably the punishment for 'bad' and riches the reward of 'good' karma performed in past lives."

The Three Jewels are "of pivotal importance in Buddhism. Indeed, The Three Jewels are Buddhism," asserts Sangharakshita.

Ideal method of studying Buddhism

Sangharakshita is the author of another book, *A Survey of Buddhism* published in 1957 by the Indian Institute of Culture in which he deals with Pāli Buddhism and Mahāyāna. There he advises the student on the method of approach to Buddhism. "The ideal method of studying Buddhism would be to read in the original language a number of carefully selected texts belonging to the Pāli, Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian, or Japanese canonical literature," he advises.

He has also contributed an interesting chapter to *2500 Years of Buddhism*, published by the Government of India in 1956, which he concludes thus : "The message of Buddhism and the principle on which it rests have assumed new significance in the world of today, and the peace of which the U.N.O. speaks is but an indication that the whole world is gradually veering round to the beliefs embodied in the religion of the Buddha."

ERNEST SHINKARU HUNT

An Englishman, Ernest Hunt, who was ordained a monk of the Zen Order in Japan in 1924, attained the "first rank" and died in Hawaii in 1967 after a very successful career.

Hunt was born on 16 August, 1878, in Hertfordshire. He went to school at Kensington and Eastbourne before going to sea. In the course of his voyages he went to India, where he learnt something of Buddhism. This was to influence the rest of his life. In 1915 he went to Hawaii and worked in the plantations.

In 1924 he was ordained a monk by Bishop Imamura who remained a life-long friend of his. He was given the Japanese Buddhist name of Shinkaru.

Since all the Buddhist service books had been in Japanese while many of the younger generation spoke English, Shinkaru composed services in English and had them printed in book-form which he called *Vade Mecum*. All sects still use this book.

Besides conducting services, ceremonies and festivals, he addressed innumerable gatherings, visited hospitals, and jails, and befriended the blind and the incurables.

He founded the Island Paradise Schools of which he was first headmaster, and then director. He took a personal interest in the pupils and saw to it that they were taught the Dhamma. He wrote for them to sing at the assembly a song entitled "I am a Link in Lord Buddha's Golden Chain." He also wrote *Buddhist Stories for Children* and a Buddhist catechism to make sure that children grew up with a knowledge and love of their religion.

Founder of Institute and Western Order

Shinkaru was also the author of *The Buddha and His Teaching, An Outline of Buddhism, How to meditate, Essentials and Symbols of the Buddhist Faith.* He edited the *Hawaiian Buddhist Annual* which carried articles from such scholars as Mrs. Rhys Davids, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Bishop Komagata, and others.

In 1952, after the death of his friend, Bishop Imamura, he left Hongwanji temple and joined the Soto Zen temple of Honolulo; there he served under Bishop Komagata, whose disciple and successor he became. In the temple he took over the work of the English-speaking section and discussed Buddhism with tourists who flocked there from England and America.

He founded the International Buddhist Institute of Hawaii in 1932, as well as the Western Buddhist Order. As a Soto Zen monk he published the *Gleanings from Soto Zen* and as President of the Western Buddhist Order he brought out *Buddhist Sermons* in two volumes.

In 1962, at the age of 84, Vice-Abbot Iwamoto of Sojiji conferred the "choro" ordination on him. The next year, by permission of the Primate of Soto Zen, the Ven. Rosen Takushina, he was awarded the Dharma Succession and the Buddhist name of Diako. The year 1965 saw his elevation to the first rank. Shinkaru was the first Western monk in Zen to receive the title of Dai-osho, and was unique in being accorded these distinctions in his old age.

His fame had spread far beyond the local Buddhist organizations. Very few men have been so widely respected by all Buddhist sects.*

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*Based on an article by the Rev. Jack Austin in the *Mahā Bodhi* of September 1967.

EDWARD CONZE

Dr. Edward Conze is one of the greatest living Buddhist scholars in the West. Peerless analyst of all sects of Buddhism, he is well-versed in Pāli, Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian, and Japanese. For over thirty years he has been a lecturer in psychology at university level.

"The historian who wants to determine what the Buddha's actual doctrine was, finds himself confronted with literally thousands of works, which all claim the authority of the Buddha, and yet contain the most diverse and conflicting teachings", states Conze. "Some influential writers, bred in a Nonconformist tradition, have recently contended that one must seek for the true Buddhist doctrine only in what Gautama Buddha actually said about 500 B.C. This thesis has led to some acrimoniousness. The truth is that the oldest stratum of the existing scriptures can only be reached by uncertain inference and conjecture. One thing alone do all these attempts to reconstruct an original Buddhism have in common. They all agree that the Buddha's doctrine was certainly not what the Buddhists understood it to be. Mrs. Rhys Davids, for example, purges Buddhism of the doctrine of 'not-self', and of monasticism. To her, some worship of 'The Man' is the original gospel of Buddhism. H.J. Jennings, in cold blood, removes all references to reincarnation from the scriptures, and claims thereby to have restored their original meaning. Dr. P. Dahlke, again, ignores all the magic and mythology with which traditional Buddhism is replete, and reduces the doctrine of the Buddha to a quite reasonable, agnostic theory. In this book I set out to describe the living tradition of Buddhism throughout the centuries, and I confess that I do not know what the 'original gospel' of Buddhism was. To regard all later Buddhist history as a record of degeneration of an original gospel is like regarding an oak tree as a degeneration of an acorn. In this book I assume that the doctrine of the Buddha, conceived in its full breadth, width, majesty and grandeur, comprises all those teachings which are linked to the original teaching by historical continuity, and which work out methods leading to the extinction of individuality by eliminating the belief in it."[1]

Buddhism judged by its results

A collaborator of his, Dr. Arthus Waley, makes a terse estimate of his deep grasp of the Buddha's teaching when he states that "to Dr. Conze, the questions that Buddhism asks and answers are actual, living questions, and he constantly brings them into relation both with history and with current actuality."

His own verdict on Buddhism Conze sums up succinctly thus : "Although one may originally be attracted by its remoteness, one can appreciate the real value of Buddhism only when one judges it by the results it produces in one's own life from day to day.[2]

Under the sub-head "European Buddhism," Conze states: "The Jesuit missionaries had, in the 17th and 18th centuries, acquired a fairly accurate knowledge of Chinese and Japanese Buddhism, but it was a German philosopher, Arthur Schopenhauer, who first made Europe acquainted with Buddhism as a living faith. Without any knowledge of the Buddhist Scriptures, guided only by the philosophy of Kant, a Latin translation of a Persian translation of the *Upaniṣhads* and his own disillusionment with life, Schopenhauer had, by 1819, evolved a philosophical system which in its insistence on the "*Negation of the Will to live*", and on compassion as the one redeeming virtue, breathed a spirit very akin to that of Buddhism. The ideas of Schopenhauer, expressed in a lively and readable style, have had a great influence on the Continent. Richard Wagner was deeply impressed by the teachings of the Buddha, and in recent years Albert Schweitzer lived the life which Schopenhauer only recommended.

The labours of four generations

"In the course of the 19th century, the invasion of Asia by European merchants, soldiers and missionaries was accompanied by a slow infiltration of Asiatic ideas into Europe. The infiltra-

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1. *Buddhism : Its Essence and Development*—Bruno Cassirer, 1957.
2. Ibid.

tion took the two forms of scientific research and popular propaganda. The scholarly investigation of Buddhist writings and art has continued now for 120 years without interruption. The history of Buddhism has, in each generation, attracted a considerable number of scholars of great ability. Many of them, especially at first, studied Buddhism as one watches an enemy, intent on proving the superiority of Christianity. A few were convinced that they had to deal with a faith of supreme purity from which Europe could learn a great deal. The majority investigated the documents with the detachment with which one solves crossword puzzles. As the result of the labours of four generations, the exploration of Buddhism has made great progress, though much remains to be done. Sociologically, 'Orientalism' in Europe was bound up with imperialism. With the decline of European imperialism, Orientalism is at present in the throes of a deep crisis, and one wonders how it will fare in the future. In the U.S.S.R. Buddhist studies seem to have petered out, although Russians had contributed much to Buddhist scholarship in the past. It may be that the mysticism of the Buddhists is not to the taste of the dialectical materialists.

"The year 1875 made an event of great importance. Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott founded the 'Theosophical Society'. Its activities accelerated the influx of knowledge about Asiatic religions, and restored self-confidence in the wavering minds of the Asiatics themselves. At that period, European civilization, a blend of science and commerce, of Christianity and militarism, seemed immensely strong. The latent dynamite of national war and class war was perceived by only a few. A growing number of educated men in India and Ceylon felt, as the Japanese did about the same time, that they had no alternative but to adopt the Western system with all that it entails. The Christian missionaries looked forward to speedy mass conversions. But then the tide turned, rather suddenly and unexpectedly. A few members of the dominant race, white men and women from Russia, America, and England, Theosophists, appeared among the Hindus and Ceylonese to proclaim their admiration for the ancient wisdom of the East. Mme. Blavatsky spoke about Buddhism in terms of the highest praise, Colonel Olcott wrote a Buddhist Catechism, and A.P. Sinnett published a very successful book in which all kinds of mysterious but fascinating ideas were presented as 'Esoteric Buddhism'. The myth of the Mahatmas located those invisible, wise and semi-divine leaders of mankind in the Himalayas, in Tibet, a Buddhist country, which became surrounded by an aura of superhuman wisdom. By its timely intervention, the Theosophical Society has done a great service to the Buddhist cause. Although later on it became, as an organization, corrupted by wealth and charlatanism, it has continued to be an impetus to Buddhist studies and has inspired many to seek further. To the ranks of the Theosophists belonged also Sir Edwin Arnold, whose poem, *The Light of Asia*, has led many hearts to love and admire the Buddha for the purity of his life, and his devotion to the welfare of mankind."[3]

Beating the drum of the Dharma

Conze continues : "After 1900, a few missionaries were sent from Asia, who laboured in London and elsewhere, without much success. In the European capitals, in Paris, London, and Berlin, small propaganda organizations were established. In England 'The Buddhist Society' has, under the able leadership of Christmas Humphreys, shown a great deal of initiative in '*beating the drum of the Dharma*.' So far, however, European Buddhism has been unable to find its feet. The organization of the Saṁgha has been the one permanent and stable element in Buddhist history. Monks and monasteries are the indispensable foundation of a Buddhist movement, which aims at being a concrete, living social reality. A number of European Buddhists who felt drawn to the monastic life have gone to Ceylon, China and Japan. The obstacles to the establishment of Buddhist monasteries in Europe are great, but probably not greater than they were originally in China. As the bankruptcy of our civilization becomes even more patent, many more people will be drawn to the wisdom of the past, and some of them to its Buddhist form. It remains to be seen when and where Europeans garbed in the saffron robe will make their first appearance."[4]

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3. *Buddhism : Its Essence and Development*—Bruno Cassirer, 1957.
4. Ibid.

Conze has been overall editor of a comprehensive anthology of Buddhist texts which is the only one of its kind.[5] It is a sequel to his *Buddhism : Its Essence and Development*, and is divided into four parts. Miss I.B. Horner edits the first part, which deals with Pāli Buddhism, while the second, on Mahāyana, is edited by Conze ; Dr. David Snellgrove edits the third part which deals with Tantras ; and Dr. Arthur Waley edits the fourth consisting of texts from China and Japan. All the texts have been newly translated from the original Pāli, Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese and Japanese.

Three phases of Buddhist philosophy

His book on Buddhist meditation[6] gives both the Theravāda and Mahāyāna methods. The bulk of his selections are, however, from the *Visuddhimagga*, the post-canonical Pāli commentary by Buddhaghoṣa, which he describes as a "superb work of 616 pages written in the fifth century." He states that "like all human authors, Buddhaghoṣa has his faults. But these are minor irritants, and he has composed one of the greatest spiritual classics of mankind. If I had to choose just one book to take with me on a desert island, this would be my choice."

Buddhist Thought in India[7] is another outstanding work of his, which deals with three phases of Buddhist philosophy as it developed over 1,100 years, between 500 B.C. and 600 A.D. The first part describes "Archaic Buddhism," i.e. doctrines common to all thinking Buddhist monks about Aśoka's time. The second and the third deal with the two trends into which Buddhist teaching split at the beginning of the Christian era, i.e. the sectarian Hīnayāna or Theravāda with its Abhidharma, and the sectarian Mahāyāna with its transcendental metaphysics.

Conze is the leading authority in the West on the Prajñāpāramitā or the Perfection of Wisdom. In his *Wisdom Books*[8], he deals with texts which contain all the essential teachings of Mahāyāna which for centuries enjoyed an immense popularity in China, Japan, Mongolia and Tibet. He has made them intelligible by explaining all the terms and most of the arguments in the *Diamond Sūtra* and *Heart Sūtra.* Scholars have expressed the view that "this is an invaluable key to that perfection of wisdom which was once the concern of every creative thinker."

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[5] *Buddhist Texts Through the Ages*—Bruno Cassirer.
[6] *Buddhist Meditation*—George Allen and Unwin.
[7] George Allen and Unwin.
[8] Ibid.

A practising Buddhist for the past thirty years, Dr. Conze is one of the world's greatest Buddhist scholars. He is Professor of Indic Studies in Washington University. Currently he is charged with building up a Ph.D. program in Buddhism.

Among his other works are : *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, translation, Serie Orientale, Roma VI, 1954 ; *Selected Sayings* from the Perfection of Wisdom, London, 1955 ; *The Buddha's Law Among the Birds*, Translation and commentary, Cassirer, Oxford, 1956 ; Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā, Edition and translation, Serie Orientale, Roma XIII, 1957; *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, Translation, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1958; *Buddhist Scriptures*, Penguin Classics, 1959 ; *The Prajñāpāramitā Literature*, Indo-Iranian Monographs VI, Mouton, The Hague, 1960 ; *A Short History of Buddhism*, Chetana Ltd., Bombay, 1961; *The Large Sūtra on Perfect Wisdom*, Luzac & Co., London and Madison 1961-4; *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā* Prajñāpāramitā, Edition and translation, Serie Orientale, Roma XXVI, 1962.

CHRISTMAS HUMPHREYS

An avowed Buddhist from his seventeenth year, Christmas Humphreys does not belong to any one particular school of Buddhism. He believes in world Buddhism, and is convinced that "only in a combination of all schools can the full grandeur of Buddhist thought be found."[1] To make his view acceptable to world Buddhism, he presented his well-known Twelve Principles in 1945. Translated into fourteen languages, these Twelve Principles have been approved by many sects of Buddhists throughout the world. These Twelve are somewhat similar to the Fourteen Principles presented by Colonel H.S. Olcott in his *Buddhist Catechism*, which he brought out at the end of the last century.

Humphreys' wide knowledge of Buddhism, judging from his numerous writings, is based on translations of Pāli, Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan, and Japanese texts. "Of Buddhism in the world today I know more than most, and of Buddhism in the West as much as any man," he claims.[2]

He is the author of some thirteen books on Buddhism written in popular style. In his latest work, *The Buddhist Way of Life*,[3] which came out in 1969, he envisages the emergence in the not distant future of a new Buddhism in the West.

At the age of 23, he founded the Buddhist Society in London, which is today one of the biggest Buddhist organizations in Europe. He has travelled widely in all Buddhist lands. For over thirty years he has been a keen student of Zen, the Far Eastern interpretation of Buddhism, and is the British agent for the works of Dr. D.T. Suzuki of Japan, whose works have created the present interest in Zen.

Nothing to fear from western science

Born in London in 1901, Christmas Humphreys is the son of Sir Trevor Humphreys, who was, incidentally, junior counsel for the prosecution in the Oscar Wilde case. On leaving Cambridge, of which University he is an LL.D., he was called to the Bar and in due course became Senior Prosecution Counsel at the Old Bailey like his father before him. Today he is a judge of the Old Bailey, and a Q.C. Mrs. Humphreys herself is a keen Buddhist and gives her wholehearted support to her husband's Buddhist activities.

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[1] *Buddhism*—Pelican.

[2] Ibid.

[3] George Allen and Unwin.

Humphreys has formed the firm view that "save in China, the power of Buddhist principles has nowhere declined, and that in several countries it is steadily increasing...... Alone of the world's religions Buddhism has nothing to fear from the activities of the modern Western mind, namely, the higher criticism of previous ideas and alleged authorities, and science, using the term in its largest scope. As to the first, the Buddhist attitude to all phenomena and to all teaching about it has ever been that of the Western scientist. Let all things be examined dispassionately, objectively, assuming nothing, testing all, for such was the Buddha's own injunction to his followers. Western science today is rapidly approaching the conception of Mind-only, and a remarkable feature of the recent change in the basis of physics is that the very terminology of its new discoveries might be paralleled in scriptures compiled some 2,000 years ago. Truly, Buddhism has nothing to fear from Western science, and in the world of mind, including that Cinderella of mental science, psychology, the West has more to learn from Buddhism than as yet it knows."[1]

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[1] Humphreys states in his *Buddhism* that this paragraph is a paraphrase of a passage in Dr. Graham Howe's book, *Invisible Anatomy*.

FRANCIS J. PAYNE

Francis J. Payne was a devoted Buddhist worker of England in the early part of the present century. Christmas Humphreys describes him as "a true evangelist who loved the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha as with a living flame."

Born on 22 July, 1869, in London, Payne was a civil servant with wide cultural interests. As a young man he became interested in Buddhism. He was particularly struck by its broad tolerance and rational approach to life's baffling problems, and he devoted all his leisure time to making Buddhism better known in Britain.

He was an original member of the first Buddhist Society of England, which was founded in 1906 by R.J. Jackson, and was also a member of the Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland, founded two years later. He contributed regularly to the *Buddhist Review*, the organ of the Society.

On the death of Ananda Metteyya Thera, the English monk who led the Buddhist Mission to England from Burma, Payne took upon himself the mission's work and carried it on for many years quite successfully.

In his booklet, *Early Western Buddhists*, 1962, Francis Story, an Englishman, who was a devoted Buddhist worker in Ceylon, pays high tribute to Payne's memory: "He was among the most dedicated and active workers in the field of Buddhism in England," says Story. "He opened the eyes of his generation to an ancient wisdom long lost to the Western world. His work remains, and will remain long after the law of impermanence has claimed his memory."

Payne's son, a 76-year old retired army officer, Lt. Col. E.F.J. Payne, translator of Schopenhauer's main works into English, says that his father "introduced" him to Buddhism quite early in life and tha the "owed an immeasurable debt of gratitude to him."

JOHN WALTERS

One of the best popular writers on Buddhism is John Walters, a British journalist, who retired from active journalism a few years ago. He has, in his own words, "studied religious beliefs and their effects from longhouses of the Borneo jungles to revivalist missions in Los Angeles", and his quest for the most perfect and practical religion has ended in his discovery and acceptance of the Buddhist Way of Life.

His first work, *Mind Unshaken : A Modern Approach to Buddhism*[1], which was published while he was yet a working journalist in 1962, is intended for "ordinary practical people." It offers Buddhism in the clearest possible form, and shows how its principles may solve the problems of the Western people and enlighten their lives. The title of the book is quite appropriate, for to have 'a mind unshaken' is one of the thirty-eight blessings the Buddha has enunciated in the *Maṅgala Sutta*.

Born in London in 1906, John Walters is the son of a prominent Anglican clergyman. He was educated at Redland Hill House, a theological college, and London University. For two years in his youth he went to sea in the merchant navy, resuming his education on his return. He began studying for the Church, but abandoned this course and entered journalism. He was for sixteen years chief correspondent of the *Daily Mirror* group of newspapers in the United States and later its chief roving correspondent, during which time he became converted to Buddhism in Thailand. Later, he became a director and general manager of the Longacre Press.

His next work, *The Essence of Buddhism*,[2] was published in New York.

[1] Rider & Company, London.

[2] Harper & Row, New York

FRANCIS STORY

Francis Story will be remembered long in the English-speaking Buddhist world as an outstanding exponent of the Teachings of the Buddha enshrined in the Pāli canon.

He arrived in Ceylon sixteen years before his death in London on 26 April, 1971, at the age of 60. Earlier, he was in Burma for seven years studying Pāli Buddhism. Still earlier he spent two years in India.

He was interested in Buddhism in his fourteenth year, and by sixteen was an avowed Buddhist. He became an Anagarika or a homeless one in the Buddhist dispensation and was well known as Anagarika Sugathananda.

In a tribute to his memory, the Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy, states : "In him the B.P.S. has lost a devoted friend and an irreplaceable helper; the Buddhist world an outstanding exponent of the Teachings. Imbued with deep *Saddha*, he occupied himself always in using his deep and clear Dhamma understanding and his remarkable literary gifts in writing on the Dhamma, to see that Buddhism be better understood and wider known in the world."

During the greater part of his sixteen years' stay in Ceylon he was connected with the Kandy Buddhist Publication Society which circulates books and booklets regularly throughout the world. He was a tower of strength to the editor of the Society's publications, the Ven. Nyanaponika Maha Thera, the German prelate.

Mr. Story's books and booklets issued by this Society will stand as a monument to his memory.

CHAPTER III

GERMANY

> "He who knows Pāli needs no borrowed light; when the sun is shining we do not need the moon."[1]
>
> —K. E. Neumann

Germans can claim to be the first Westerners to gain an insight into Buddhism and to extol it. In 1819 Schopenhauer, the philosopher, assigned it the highest place among world religions.[2] Another philosopher, Nietzsche, describes it as "the only real positivistic religion which history has shown us".[3] Richard Wagner, the composer and dramatist, used Buddhist themes in his compositions and openly declared himself a lover of the Buddha's teachings.

While two profound philosophers and a great composer thus aroused interest in Buddhism in the last century, German Indological research penetrated to its very roots. Great scholars such as Hermann Oldenberg, K. E. Neumann, Paul Dahlke, George Grimm, Karl Seidenstucker, Nyanatiloka Maha Thera (Anton Gueth), the first German to be a Buddhist monk, and a host of others provided excellent translations of the Pāli canon as well as original works on the doctrine and history of Buddhism.

For the first time in the West a German edited and published a Pāli text with a German translation. It was Professor F. Spiegel's *Anecdota Pālica*, which was a part of a Pāli text, the *Uraga Vagga* of the *Sutta Nipāta*. It was, however, not in Roman script, but in *Devanāgari* characters. Again, the credit for rendering into German a full Pāli text, the *Dhammapada*, goes to a German, Professor A. Weber. It was published in 1860. The *Dhammapada*, the most popular Buddhist book in Germany, was further translated into German by Leopold von Schroeder

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1. Introduction to *Majjhima Nikāya*.
2. *The World as Will and Representation.*
3. *Anti-Christ.*

(1892), by K. E. Neumann (1893), Walter Markgraf (1912), Paul Dahlke (1919), and F. Otto Franke (1923).

Translations into German

Besides the *Dhammapada*, almost the whole of the *Sutta Piṭaka* (Discourse Collection) of the Pāli canon, and important post-canonical works such as the *Visuddhimagga* and *Milindapañho* and commentaries have been translated into German. K. E. Neumann was one of the best known translators. Among his translations are : The *Majjhima Nikāya* (3 volumes, 1896-1902); The *Theragāthā* and *Therīgāthā* (1899) ; the *Digha Nikāya* (4 volumes, 1907-1928) and *Sutta Nipāta* (1905). Other noteworthy translators were : Karl Seidenstucker, who translated the *Sutta Nipāta* (1931), extracts from Oldenberg's five volumes of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* (1924-1925), and *Pāli Buddhism in Translations* (1911); Wilhelm Geiger, who edited and translated the *Mahāvaṁsa* (1908) and *Cūḷavaṁsa* (2 volumes, 1925-1927), and translated the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* (2 volumes, 1925-1930); Julius Dutoit, who translated in seven volumes (1908-1911) the *Jātaka* stories; R. Otto Franke, who translated the *Dīgha Nikāya* (1907), and Nyanatiloka Maha Thera, who translated numerous Pāli texts, including the *Visuddhimagga*.

Important Mahāyāna texts have also been translated into German. Among these are: A. Weber's edition and translation of Aśvaghoṣa's *Vajrasūcī* (1859) ; Th. Schultz's translation of Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* (1895) ; Schiefner's translation of Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism* (1869) ; Max Walleser's translation of Nāgārjuna's *Mādhymika-kārīkās* (1911) ; Eric Frauwallner's translation of *'Dignāga's Ālambanaparīkṣā*; Dharmakirti's *Sambandhaparīkṣā* and Philip Schaffer's translation of Nāgārjuna's *Yuktiṣaṣtikā*.

Nyanatiloka Maha Thera stood in a class by himself. From Ceylon, where he spent 54 years of his life, he had done immense service to Buddhism in Germany. To enable his countrymen to study Pāli and to read the teachings of the Buddha in the Master's own words, he provided them with an intelligible Pāli grammar and an anthology of Pāli texts with a dictionary. Of his numerous publications, *The Word of the Buddha*, first published in 1905, ran to three German impressions, and was of great benefit to his compatriots. He was perhaps the pre-eminent German Buddhist author of the first half of the present century.

Zimmermann's catechism—a best-seller

Apart from Nyanatiloka, Dr. Paul Dahlke was the most widely known German Buddhist. He published numerous books on Buddhism and gave radio talks. He founded the Buddhist House in Berlin which is today the Buddhist temple there, acquired for the purpose by the German Dharmaduta Society of Ceylon.

Dr. Karl Seidenstucker, described as the apostle of Buddhism in Germany,[4] founded the Buddhist Society in Leipzig in 1903, and was a leader of the Buddhist movement between the two world wars. Martin Steinke, Kurt Schmidt, and George Grimm were associated with him. Dr. H. Palmie, who published in Hamburg almost single-handed the *Studia Pāli Buddhica* and other periodicals, was an exponent of the Dhamma. Dr. F. Zimmermann wrote a Buddhist catechism which proved a best-seller. Later, he changed the title of the catechism to *The Message of the Buddhism.*[5]

Professor R. Otto Franke has been described as a "professional", while Professor Helmuth von Glasenapp as "one between the professionals and real Buddhist scholars by conviction."[6]

The original works of Paul Dahlke, Nyanatiloka, George Grimm, Hans Much, Seidenstucker, and Zimmermann have been of great value not only to Germans but to others as well. They were not mere scholars but led real Buddhist lives.

The Hamburg Institute for the study of Asia has brought out a book entitled *Buddhism, State and Society* by Heinz Bechert, the German Indologist. It deals with Ceylon's Pāli Buddhism, and has been highly commended by Dr. H. Berger in *Mundus*, a German quarterly review.

Discovery of Turfan Manuscripts

Thousands of fragments of Buddhist scriptures discovered in the cave temples of Turfan by the German expeditions under Le Coq and Albert Gruenwedel have been restored. These form the main interest of Professor Ernst Waldschmidt, the Gottingen

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[4] *Basic Tenets of Buddhism*—Semage & Co., Colombo.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Luzac & Company.

Indologist, and his school. He has restored the Sanskrit *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, which had been lost, with the aid of the Turfan manuscripts. These also have helped him to restore and edit the *Catuparisa Sūtra*, which deals with the foundation of the Sangha or the Order as well as the meeting between the Buddha and King Bimbisāra of Magadha.

Helmuth Hoffman, the Munich Indologist, has dealt comprehensively with Tibetan Buddhism, while Willibald Kerfel, Professor Emeritus of Indology, Bonn University, has written on Buddhist cosmology and surveyed the symbolism of Buddhism. Herbert Guenther's work on the problems of the soul in ancient Buddhism is worthy of mention.

Germany is perhaps the only Western country where there are avowed Buddhists among printers and publishers. Two of them are Oskar Schloss, the owner of the once famous Banares Verlag, Munich, and the present publisher, Dr. Paul Christani of Konstantz. They are described as "believing Buddhists who devote their whole life to the making known of the Buddha's Dhamma by enabling authors to have their books published even if the publisher in the end risks being ruined; but a Buddhist does not mind losing all his money and wealth in the service of the Dhamma."[7]

To the German Buddhist, religion is not a mere label but a living force. He practises it conscientiously and with proverbial German thoroughness. He scrupulously observes the Five Precepts and devotes a good part of free time daily to the cultivation of mindfulness through meditation. Among German Buddhists are not only intellectuals but also ordinary people engaged in various walks of life which do not involve them in the breach of the Five Precepts. Almost all of them follow Pāli Buddhism. Not all Buddhists are members of Buddhist societies scattered in various cities such as Berlin, Munich, Hamburg, Cologne, Bremen, Rostock, and Utting, but they practise Buddhism in their daily lives at home since congregations are unnecessary for the practice of Buddhism.

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7. *Basic Tenets of Buddhism*—Semage & Co., Colombo.

Utting's Old Buddhist Community

Hamburg is one of the most active centres of Buddhism. A Federation of Buddhist Unions composed of all Buddhist societies formed in pre-war days exists there. Facilities are provided there for Buddhists to listen to expositions of the Dhamma and to spend long hours in meditation. Munich, Berlin, and Utting are other big centres where Buddhists have organized themselves into societies for the practice of the religion.

A House of Silence has been set up in Roseburg, a suburb about 25 miles from Hamburg, where Buddhists meet for meditation and seminars under the guidance of teachers.

The Altbuddhistische Gemeinde (Old Buddhist Community) in Utting am Ammersee has features of a lay Order, the members of which have vowed to attain in the present life itself at least the first stage of the Path to Enlightenment—*Sotapannāmagga*. It has several Elders. They are called so because of their extraordinary piety and deep learning in the Dhamma. They give regular talks and lectures to ordinary members and instruct them in meditation.

Established in 1921 by Dr. George Grimm and Dr. Karl Seidenstucker, the community is located in a picturesque site in the forelands of the Alps. The main building, which is known as George Grimm House, is the gift of Sister Maya Keller-Grimm, daughter of George Grimm, and the guest-house abutting it is the gift of an anonymous donor. There is a meditation-cell in an isolated part of the premises. The present joint heads of the institution are Sister Maya Keller-Grimm and Max Hoppe, a devoted disciple of George Grimm. The institution has its own physician in the person of Dr. S. Schoenwerth who lives in the premises with his family. Himself a practising Buddhist, he is a Pāli scholar and a prolific writer on Buddhist themes. Mrs. Emily Knothe, also known as Sister .Mallika, is an Elder and lives in the premises. A German by birth and an American graduate, she translates German into English and vice versa. The membership stands at 850 men and women. The ordinary members have taken the vow to observe the Five Precepts daily and to devote some time to meditation. Weekly meetings are held. A Fellowship Week is held twice a year in Gottingen. The institution runs a bimonthly called *Yāna* which has a wide circulation.

Continuing influence on German thought

It is estimated that members of various Buddhist organizations in Germany number over 20,000. But the number of those who practise Buddhism without publicly announcing it is believed to be much higher. If the present trend continues, Buddhism might before long be a force not only in Germany but also in countries closely associated with it. It is gratifying to observe that the pioneer efforts of her scholars have continued to influence German thought despite the cataclysms of two world wars.

ARTHUR SCHOPENHAUER

Arthur Schopenhauer, who had been since the first quarter of the 19th century the most widely read German philosopher, was the first to tell the West about Buddhism. According to his British biographer, Lt. Col. E.F.J. Payne, Schopenhauer was a Buddhist. He kept a gilded Tibetan statue of the Buddha on his mantelpiece "for the purpose of reminding his visitors of the fact that he was a Buddhist."

Schopenhauer made the first allusion to Buddhism in the very first edition of his monumental work, *The World as Will and Representation* published in 1819. There were then no translations of Buddhist texts in European languages, nor did he know any Asiatic languages. How, then, did he gain his knowledge of Buddhism ? In his own words, his knowledge of Buddhism was based on "imperfect and inadequate accounts". But he was a genius, and men of genius have the capacity to grasp the essence of a thing even from imperfect material.

In 1844 he brought out the second edition of *The World as Will and Representation* in two volumes. By that time he had read a number of books on Buddhism by Russian, German, and French scholars. In the second edition he pays the following tribute to Buddhism : "It almost seems that as the oldest languages are the most perfect, so too are the oldest religions. If I wished to take the results of my philosophy as the standard of truth, I should have to concede to Buddhism pre-eminence over the others. In any case, it must be a pleasure to me to see my doctrine in such close agreement with a religion that the majority of men on earth hold as their own, for this numbers far more followers than any other. And this agreement must be yet the more pleasing to me, inasmuch as in my philosophizing I have certainly not been under its influence."

Western scholars were greatly influenced by this tribute to Buddhism. It may be said that this tribute led to the study of Buddhism widely in the West.

He brought out the third and last edition of *The World as Will and Representation* in 1859—the year before his death.

Wider and more intelligent readership

In 1851 he published two volumes of essays under the title of *Parerga and Paralipomena*, in which he states that the "purpose of Buddha Sakyamuni was to separate the kernel from the shell to free the exalted teaching itself from all admixture with images and gods, and to make its pure intrinsic worth accessible and intelligible even to the people. In this he was marvellously successful, and his religion is therefore the most excellent on earth and is represented by the greatest number of followers".

The appearance of these two volumes marked the beginning of a wider interest in Schopenhauer's philosophy among an increasing number of intelligent and unprejudiced readers.

Schopenhauer has been described as "father of pessimism". But he adopted the Buddhist term *saṁsara* "explicitly in his deduction of the basic idea that pessimism in this connexion is the indispensable motive for urging the human mind on the path of liberation, in the direct, adequate and literal meaning of the term Nibbāna,"[1] says Bhikkhu Nanajivoka, the Hungarian Buddhist monk, who in lay life was a University Professor.

When his housekeeper, a Roman Catholic spinster, first saw Schopenhauer's gilded statue of the Buddha on his mantelpiece, she asked him in astonishment what it was.

"It is the Victoriously Awakened One," he replied.

Theory of knowledge, the basis of his whole system

Born in 1788, Arthur Schopenhauer was the son of Heinrich Floris Schopenhauer, a merchant, and Johanna Trosiener, the daughter of a Danzig Senator. From the very beginning Arthur was, out of regard for his father's standing as a merchant, destined for a commercial career. He attended school in Hamburg, and it was soon apparent that he had mental ability far above the average. He, however, showed a marked disinclination for a commercial career, and begged of his father for permission to attend the Gymnasium, but the father, to whom an academic career was inseparable from penury, was unwilling to accede to the son's request. In the end the boy was offered the choice of accompanying his parents on an extensive tour abroad on condition that he took up a commercial career at the end of it, or of entering the Gymnasium at once.

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[1] *Schopenhauer and Buddhism*—Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy, Ceylon.

The 15-year-old boy accepted the former. In 1803 the family set off for England via Holland. Young Arthur was sent to a boarding school in Wimbledon, while his parents toured Scotland. Arthur with his parents toured France, Switzerland, and Austria. These travels were of great educational value to him. He kept a diary in which he recorded his impressions of the visits.

In 1805, Schopenhauer took up commercial studies. Shortly afterwards his father died. His mother disposed of the business and left Hamburg for Weimar, where her house soon became the meeting place of Goethe, Wieland, and other celebrities. He abandoned his commercial studies, and started an intensive course of study at Gotha and Weimar. So rapid was his progress that his teachers declared at the end of two years that he was fit to enter a university. During the years in which he made up for lost time, he did not neglect to read the great book of Nature and of Life. He rode and fenced, attended concerts, parties, and the theatre, and met many famous people.

Entering Gottingen University in 1809, he studied medicine because he loved natural science, particularly anatomy and physiology. He also attended lectures in metaphysics, psychology, and logic, and mastered Plato and Kant before embarking on the works of other thinkers. He went to Berlin University in 1811 and remained there until 1813, when he withdrew to Rudolfstadt. There he wrote his first book on the theory of knowledge which afterwards became the basis of his whole system of thought. For this thesis the University of Jena awarded him the doctorate in philosophy. Goethe, who was then 64, was so impressed by the lucidity of young Schopenhauer's exposition that he invited the young man to collaborate with him on a theory of colours.

Repeated attacks on Hegel's philosophy

In Weimar, Schopenhauer presumably made a study of Buddhism and Hinduism. His keen insight was quick to discern the agreement between Buddhism and his own philosophy.

He was only thirty years of age when he published *The World as Will and Representation.* His whole thought is expounded in it. His later works are merely amplifications of his original conception. At the early age of thirty, he had attained a finality of view such as is reached by other thinkers only at a more mature age—an astonishing intellectual feat. In 1836 he brought out another book, *On the Will in Nature*, in which he attacked Hegel's philosophy which he described as "nonsensical mystification." Neither of these books, however, achieved success.

Public recognition of his work came in 1840 when a Norwegian academy awarded him a prize for his essay on *Free Will*, which has been described as "a masterpiece of lucid exposition." About the same time he submitted to a Danish academy an essay on *The Basis of Morality*, but received no award for the judges took strong exception to his strictures on Hegel and other post-Kantian philosophers. In 1841 he published both these essays in one volume. "He wrote a long preface to it in the form of a caustic philippic in which Hegel and others came in for the full blast of his withering scorn," states his biographer.

In 1844 he published his principal work, *The World as Will and Representation* in two volumes, the second volume supplementing the first and "yet representing one of the most readable books in any language although plumbing to the depths life's most difficult problems," states his biographer.

Will—'the only thing without a cause'

From 1844 to 1850 he wrote a number of essays which were calculated to appeal to a wider public. These were published in two volumes under the title of *Parerga and Paralipomena*, two Greek words meaning secondary work and belated observations. This two-volume work of popular essays came to the notice of John Oxenford, who in 1852 wrote in the *Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review* a long article on them headed *Iconoclasm in German Philosophy*. This article came to the notice of one of Schopenhauer's friends, and it was translated into German and published. Almost overnight Schopenhauer in his own country passed from obscurity to fame. Even the professors of philosophy who had for forty years pursued a policy of complete silence about him could no longer ignore him.

What Schopenhauer calls Will is the Buddhist *Taṇhā*, i.e. thirst, craving, hunger, excitement, the fever of unsatisfied longing, according to his biographer, Lt. Col. Payne. "It is in the entire world the only thing without a cause and also without a beginning in time."

"A happy life is impossible;" says Schopenhauer. "The best that a man can attain is a heroic life, such as is lived by one who struggles against overwhelming odds in some way and some affair that will benefit the whole of mankind, and one in the end triumphs, although he obtains a poor reward or none at all.......His memory lasts and is celebrated as that of a *hero*; his *will*, mortified by toil and trouble, failure and the world's ingratitude throughout his life, is extinguished in Nirvana.[2]

Schopenhauer was never in want. In September 1860 he was found dead on his sofa, his face showing no trace of any death pang. To the end he was physically and mentally active.

"A man of sterling and independent character, of truthfulness and conscientiousness, of immense industry and erudition, Schopenhauer was, like all mortals, not without faults", states Lt. Col. Payne. "He was conscious of his intellectual superiority and smarted under the scorn and malicious silence of less gifted men. The wonder is that forty years of ridicule, hostility and discouragement did not deter him from what he knew to be his life's task. He worked on conscious of his mission, convinced that he had the truth, and in the end his message would triumph. Undaunted, he stood alone—alone because he was unique. He has been an inspiration to many thinkers and authors, some of whom, alas, have not had the honesty or the courage to acknowledge their indebtedness to him."

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[2] *Parerga and Paralipomena*, II.

HERMANN OLDENBURG

"The oldest traditions of Buddhism are those which have preserved themselves in Ceylon and are being studied by the monks of this island up to the present day," [1] declared Dr. Hermann Oldenburg in asserting his preference for the Pāli tradition which had not been given sufficient consideration by the older Indologists.

T. W. Rhys Davids and Hermann Oldenburg were the great masters of the "Older Anglo-German school," based squarely on the Pāli canon, "which is held to have preserved the Buddha's doctrines more faithfully than any other. Until about 1914 it dominated the scene, and from it the general public still derive their ideas of what is the 'original', 'pure' and 'true' Buddhism."[2]

Oldenburg made a distinct contribution to Pāli Buddhism in the West. He it was who first introduced to the West *Theragāthā* and *Therīgāthā*, the exultations in Pāli verse by early monks and nuns on attaining Enlightenment. These have been rendered into choice English verse by Mrs. Rhys Davids under the titles of Psalms of Brethren and Psalms of Sisters.

Writings on Buddhist and Vedic themes

Born in Hamburg on 31 October, 1854, Hermann Oldenburg was the son of a Protestant priest, Frierich Oldenburg and his wife Eleonore. He studied Sanskrit and Indian philology under Professors Weber and Kircheff, and obtained his doctorate from Berlin University in 1875. He then became a lecturer in Berlin University, and in 1879 succeeded Professor Hermann Jacobia in Kiel University. He was also Professor of Comparative Philology and Sanskrit at Gottingen University. While yet an undergraduate he wrote a book entitled *De Sacris fratrum Aryallum queaestiones*. He published his first book entitled *De Platonis arte dialectica* when he was only 19 years of age. This won him a prize in 1873. Then followed an uninterrupted

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1. Oldenburg's *The Buddha, His Life, His Doctrine, His Community*.
2. *Thirty Years of Buddhist Studies* by Edward Conze.

succession of writings—articles, reviews, original works—particularly on Buddhist and Vedic themes. These relate to phonetics, etymology, literature, and history of religions. The last subject was one of his main interests. Until his death he did not cease to write.

In 1912 he visited India long after he had written books on the sub-continent. "This journey came too late to influence his picture of India, which he had viewed in books during the work of several decades," writes his biographer, Professor Helmuth von Glasenapp. "He often confessed, it enriched him in many respects insofar as what he has viewed mentally was followed up by actual sight."

The great result of his Pāli scholarship was his outstanding work, *The Buddha, His Life, His Doctrine, His Community,* "a successful endeavour to present a historical, life-resembling Buddha." This book appeared in 1881. Earlier, he had published in London in 1879 the *Dīpavaṁsa*, the Ceylon chronicle. It was translated into English. Next came his monumental edition of the *Vinaya Piṭaka,* in five volumes, which he and Rhys Davids translated and published in the Sacred Books of the East series between 1881 and 1885.

The Buddha as a human being

"The older occidental Indology was principally based on Sanskrit texts in which the Buddha is represented as a superhuman being around whom legends have been woven,"[3] states Oldenburg. "But in the Pāli tradition the life and teaching of the Buddha are historically and really comprehensible." It was his endeavour to bring before Western eyes the historical Buddha. But the task was a difficult one, since, as Bartholet states, "the old Indians lacked the ability for individual construction, and for them the Buddha is no person......merely the type which the countless past Buddhas have made real and which will also be realized by the future Buddhas." Oldenburg was convinced that Gautama Buddha was a real human being and he proved it by the comparison of sources.

Oldenburg's book on the Buddha was a great success. He himself brought out seven editions. Based on his own further investigations and those of other scholars, he made a few alterations and additions in later editions. The subsequent editions remain unchanged. *The Buddha, His Life, His Doctrine, His Community* was translated into English by Hoey (1882); into French (with a Foreword by Sylvain Levi) by Foucher(1894); and into Russian by Nikolaeva (1893). Translations have also come out in several editions. The book remained the standard work in German on the Buddha and his teaching until the appearance of George Grimm's *The Doctrine of the Buddha—the Religion of Reason and Meditation,* in 1915. K. E. Neumann states that Grimm's work is "incomparably deeper and more comprehensive" considered from all points of view than Oldenburg's book. Other scholars have expressed similar views.

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[3] *The Buddha, His Life, His Doctrine, His Community.*

The main weight of Oldenburg's work as a whole lies on *Vedas, Upanishads and Brāhmaṇas.* He has to his credit quite a number of books on these themes. From 1880 to 1919 he worked in this field. The Government of India had engaged his services for this purpose and he worked for a time in the India Office, London.

Severe criticism by Dr. Carus

Oldenburg found a severe critic of his conception of Buddhism in Dr. Paul Carus, the German-born American pioneer of Buddhism.

In a letter to Paul Carus, Oldenburg states : "Buddhism in my opinion suffers from the contradictions historically quite conceivable, that on the one hand, it retains the old concrete and popular conception of a transmigration of the soul, on the other hand, dissolves in its philosophy the idea of a soul as a substratum, an ego-being. This is a contradiction which will never be overcome by your attempt at sublimating the category of karma. Had the Buddha not believed in a transmigration of the soul, suicide should have appeared to him as the quickest and best adopted means of making an end of suffering. A few drops of prussic acid would be a better and at any rate a more rapid remedy than the holy eightfold path."

Paul Carus answers : "If this proposal of the learned Pāli Professor be tenable, the Buddha, who is generally regarded as one of the keenest thinkers that ever lived on earth, would have both denied the existence of a thing and at the same time have taught that it migrates from place to place. And we are requested to believe that the Buddha should have been guilty of such a gross contradiction ! No, I would rather run the risk of doubting the infallibility of a German professor !

"While Professor Oldenburg's summary solution is *prima facie* improbable, it is at the same time based upon incorrectly-stated facts: Buddhism teaches reincarnation, but it does not teach the migration of the soul. Professor Oldenburg's book, although good in many respects, is very deficient in its exposition of the Buddhist psychology, which is just the most important part of Buddhism. Oldenburg must have overlooked the passages in which the theory of soul-migration, in the sense of an ego-soul migrating from one body to another, is rejected."

"Buddhism denies that the soul is a substance, and in spite of Professor Oldenburg's statement to the contrary, it denies also most emphatically and unequivocally that there can be any transmigration or transportation of a soul-substance. Yet Buddhism asserts the reappearance of the same soul-forms."[4]

In support of his contention, Paul Carus cites the questions of King Milinda and the Ven. Nagasena's answers to them from the *Milindapañho*, and states : "Professor Oldenburg is a great scholar, and, I repeat, I gladly acknowledge my indebtedness to him as a philologist ; he may also be a good historian, but he has shown himself to be incompetent as an interpreter of Buddhism".[4]

Oldenburg died on 18 March, 1920.

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[4] *Buddhism and its Christian Critics by Paul Carus*—Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago, 1894.

GEORGE GRIMM

The driver of a horse-drawn carriage going along a busy street in Munich one day accidentally slipped the rein over the most sensitive part of the animal's body. The ticklish feeling thus caused became so intense that the mare galloped madly. The pedestrians screamed and ran in panic. A serious accident was imminent. Just then an old man emerged from the crowd, darted forward, seized the rein fearlessly and brought the infuriated animal to a halt. Handing the rein to the frightened driver, who clung helplessly to his seat, the old man disappeared without uttering a word. The newspapers carried the story the next morning under banner headlines such as "Courageous action of an unknown old man saves grave accident." The unknown old man was no other than George Grimm, a retired judge of the German Supreme Court and a celebrated exponent of Pāli Buddhism.

This was not the only time when George Grimm, regardless of his own safety, came to the rescue of his fellowmen. When he made Utting am Ammersee in Upper Bavaria his home, he used a motor-boat for his recreation. Whenever he saw a sailing boat in difficulties, he would rush there, despite bad weather, and tow the sailing vessel and its crew to safety. Thus he saved many a man from a watery grave.

From Law Department to the Bench

Born on 28 February, 1868, at Rollh bei Lauf on the Pegnitz, George Grimm was the eldest son of a forge-master. His parents desired him to be a Catholic priest and, in fact, he took the lower orders. But he soon changed his mind, and entered the University on a government scholarship. He passed the Final Examination in Law with first-class honours. He joined the Law Department as a prosecutor and showed such brilliance in his legal work that he was soon appointed to the Supreme Court Bench.

About this time, Schopenhauer's philosophy attracted George Grimm, and he came in contact with an eminent disciple of Schopenhauer, Dr. Paul Deussen (1845-1919), the philosopher and brilliant exponent of Indian philosophy. A close and lasting friendship developed between them. Deussen often spent weeks at a time with Grimm in the latter's home.

Schopenhauer's high appreciation of Buddhism and his avowal that he was a Buddhist led George Grimm to the study of Buddhism. He read the *Majjhima Nikāya* in K. E. Neumann's translation, and was deeply stirred by it. But certain points were not quite clear to him. So he studied Pāli and Sanskrit which he mastered in an incredibly short time, and by reference to original texts he clarified his understanding. He has acknowledged his indebtedness to K. E. Neumann for his assistance in Buddhist studies.

George Grimm was generous to a fault. Many were the people and causes that received his financial assistance. He spent large sum of money on Neumann who was often in financial difficulties. He would never ask for the return of a loan, nor would he refuse a loan even though an earlier loan was outstanding. He gave till giving hurt him. But, fortunately, he was never in want.

He retired prematurely from the Supreme Court Bench, and spent in all 37 years of his life on the study, practice, and propagation of Buddhism in his fatherland. His lectures on various Buddhist topics in Munich University and elsewhere in Germany brought him a large number of followers. He pointed out to them the need to work ceaselessly for the attainment in the present life itself of the first stage of the path to Enlightenment —*Sotapannā*. With this end in view he established in 1921, with Dr. Karl Seidenstucker, the *Altbuddhistisch Gemeinde* (Old Buddhist Community) in Utting am Ammersee. A large number of French Buddhists were attracted to George Grimm who gave them lectures and held discussions with them. These led to the formation of a French group with Louis Ansiano as its head.

Return to Buddha's original doctrine

The author of eight books on Buddhism, George Grimm wrote numerous articles to various Buddhist journals. His main work, which is popular in all Buddhist countries, was first translated into English by Bhikkhu Silacara, the British monk, shortly after the original appeared in German in 1915. It was titled *The Doctrine of the Buddha : the religion of reason and meditation.* A fresh English translation of it by Lt. Col. E. F. J. Payne was published in 1958. This edition carries a brilliant introduction by Grimm's daughter, Mrs. Maya Keller-Grimm, and his devoted disciple, Max Hoppe. The book has run to fifteen editions in all.

Based on *Sutta Piṭaka*, the book's 414 pages, contains an illuminating interpretation of the Dhamma. Grimm makes an effort to "return to the original doctrine of the Buddha". Taking only those passages in the Pāli canon which have the mark of authenticity, he reconstructs a complete exposition of Buddhist thought. He builds exclusively upon the Buddha's sayings and those of his disciples who lived contemporaneously with him.

Of the Buddha's *anattā* doctrine, Grimm states that "it points to detachment from everything personal that narrows and limits from the all too personal, from the arrogant notion that I am precisely such and such a superior person, an attitude which causes a wall of selfishness to be built around us. But on the other hand, a detachment in the sense of *anattā* idea causes us to become broader and freer and also to understand others in their efforts and endeavours. 'As I am, so are they, as they are, so am I. Identifying himself with others, let him not kill or harm, nor cause anyone to kill or harm' ". (*Sutta Nipāta*)

Seeking Ātta in the indirect way

Grimm devotes a good part of his book to the elaboration of the *anattā* doctrine, and states that the Buddha had sought for the *Ātta* in the *indirect* way, by taking away from the *Ātta* everything that is not the *Ātta*. The Buddha followed this way so radically and with so much success that everything cognizable revealed itself to him as *Anattā*. And for this reason, he says : "You teach the *Ātta*, but I teach what the *Ātta* is *not*. You know the *Ātta*, but I only know what the *Ātta* is *not*. You are always speaking about the *Ātta*, but I speak of *Anattā*. In short, you have the Ātta-method, the *ātta-vāda*, whereas I have the *anattā*-method, the *anattā-vāda*. And this I have because only thus is the *ātta*, that is myself, able to become free from suffering and be happy. Monks, cleave ye to any I-doctrine (*ātta-vāda*) whereby no sorrow can come to him who cleaves, neither lamentation nor suffering, neither grief nor despair. Know ye of any such I-doctrine?—Indeed, we do not, Lord—Well said, monks, neither do I know of any such I-doctrine." (*Saṁyutta Nikāya* XLV, 4)

This is not the generally accepted view of Pāli Buddhists. Commenting on Grimm's book, Edward Conze states : "The more I am concerned with these things, the more convinced I become that George Grimm's interpretation of the Buddhist theory of *ātman* comes nearest to the original teaching of the Buddha."[1]

Dr. Karl Seidenstucker states : "What I had long surmised, namely, the doctrine of the Buddha represented the message of supreme transcendence, George Grimm has succeeded in expressing clearly."[2]

The Ven. Agga Mahā Pandita Polwatte Sri Buddhadatta Mahā Nayaka Thera, one of the greatest Pāli scholars of Ceylon, describes George Grimm as "the recoverer of the old genuine doctrine of the Buddha which had been submerged."[3]

Rebirth and a form of belief in annihilation

George Grimm does not agree with Buddhaghoṣa's interpretation of rebirth, namely, that "man's essential nature consists in bodily and mental forces which, when acting together, style themselves as 'I'. Like everything else, these forces calling themselves as 'I' naturally disappear in death. But in continuation of them, there then sprang up in a different germinating material, made ready by the parents in the act of copulation, new forces which are equivalent to those that have perished, and which again form a new being, and in him, thus describing himself, once more say 'I'. It is exactly the same as if a new candle were kindled from an old one burnt almost to extinction." "This is said to be rebirth as taught by the Buddha", states Grimm. "In point of fact this theory, which has no basis in the words of the Buddha himself, is naturally nothing but a special form of the belief in annihilation which the Buddha rejects in a solemn manner. For precisely because the forces springing up in a different germinating material are *new*, they

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1. In a letter to Max Hoppe.
2. In a letter to Mrs. Maya Keller-Grimm.
3. Ibid.

are no longer the old; the forces that had formed the previous human being have perished definitely and for ever. If I perish with the disappearances of the forces themselves that formed my essential nature, how then am I concerned with the new forces that are said to spring up in a new germinating material after my death, even if such new forces are equivalent to those that have disappeared? What clear-thinking mind still speaks here of rebirth, in the sense in which the Buddha describes it in the parable of the *one* wanderer? 'Just as when a man went from his place to another place, and from this place again to another, and from this place returned to his own place, the thought then occurred to him : I have gone from this place to that place, I have stood there, sat there, spoken there, and been silent there; from that place, however, I have gone to this place, and then I have stood there, sat there, spoken there, and been silent there; then I have returned again from this place to my own place; in the same way do my disciples call to mind many different forms of previous existences." (*Majjhima Nikāya* 77th discourse). Grimm continues : "The interpretation that is not to be read from the words of the Buddha himself is obtained only by the explanation that the discourses of the Buddha must not be taken literally just as they are given. This certainly resulted in the direct opposite to what we previously came to know as the Aryan Indian genius with its powerful *ātman* doctrine, which revealed itself through the centuries. Thus it cannot be a matter for surprise that *this* Buddhism not only evoked so much contempt from Shankara, the great Vedic commentator, that he called the Buddha (whom he previously knew only in the form of the Buddhism of the commentaries) an old prattler, but also that the doctrine of the Buddha disappeared entirely from India between 800 and 1000 A.D. In fact, *this* Buddhism is no religion for the Indian Arya."

A perversion without practical consequence

Further Grimm states : "The opposition in which many commentaries stand not only to the teaching of the Buddha himself, but also to the Aryan Indian genius generally, really forces one to the assumption that these commentators were not pure Aryans at all, but Drāvidians (the original inhabitants of

India) who lived in South India in large numbers in the time of the Buddha, and still do today. The Sinhalese also consist of Aryan and Dravidian elements."

The Buddhist laity in the countries in which Buddhism continues to exist have, of course, not bothered at all about the theoretical reversal of the Buddha's idea by Buddhist *scholars* (the misfortune was just that the monks had for the most part become mere scholars), so that this perversion of his idea by its competent wardens has been without practical consequence. And this was very fortunate for historical Buddhism. This is what Sir Edwin Arnold, author of the famous didactic poem, *The Light of Asia*, has in mind when he states in his preface that it is his "firm conviction that a third of mankind would never have been brought to believe in blank abstractions, or in Nothingness as the issue and crown of Being."

Grimm expresses the view that "the *Mahā-Aṭṭhakathā* is undoubtedly mainly responsible for the fact that the Order of the Buddha was at an early date split into sects." This applies in particular to the schism into Theravādins, as the advocates of the Buddhism of the commentaries, and into Mahāsaṅghikas, as the opponents—a schism that had already occurred at the second Council of Vesali in the year 383 B.C. In the first century A.D. we have the origin of Mahāyāna, the "Great Vehicle" as it was called by its followers themselves. By contrast, they contemptuously described as Hīnayāna, the Small (defective) Vehicle", the older modes of thought which were based ultimately on the Pāli canon. The Buddha teaches that the man who works for his own salvation *as well as* for the salvation of others, "is the greatest, the best, the most venerable, and the most sublime". (*Aṅguttara Nikāya* IV, 95). Here he emphasizes that only the man "who is himself not drawn into the swamp can pull out another who is submerged. (*Majjhima Nikāya* 8th discourse). The Mahāyāna set up a Boddhisattva ideal which will attain its own supreme salvation only after the salvation of every other being."

Grimm wrote for his own edification. So he said. He experienced the truth that the teaching of the Buddha is like the paw of the lion: "What it strikes, be it lofty or low, that it strikes soundly."

Monthly journal published in 1919

In 1919, George Grimm started with Dr. Karl Seidenstucker a monthly journal, *The Buddhist World Mirror*, one of the best known contributors of which was Dr. Hans Much, the celebrated TB specialist, and discoverer of what is famous in the medical world as the "Much-granule". He became a Buddhist by reading Grimm's books.

In the first days of World War II, the French sacked the place where he lived, but his house was spared "as if by superior guardianship."

He felt the deepest gratitude to those who had pointed out the Buddha's teachings to him. Schopenhauer's picture, adorned with a garland, hung over his bed. Of K. E. Neumann and Paul Deussen he often spoke in the highest terms.

George Grimm died on 26 August, 1945. "To Bavaria's Gentlest Judge", runs the inscription over his grave. This is quite appropriate, for it was in a spirit of gentleness that he meted out justice from the Supreme Court Bench. Over his grave also the following words of Goethe echo: "This indeed is the virtue of noble natures, that their departure from life into loftier regions has a blissful effect just as their dwelling on earth had; that from those regions, like stars, they beam at us as points of direction to which we have to steer our course on a journey that is only too often interrupted by storm and tumult; that those to whom we turned as well-wishers and helpers in life now cause us to look longingly at them as blessed, perfect ones."

In his life George Grimm exemplified the Buddha's saying that "whoever clears his own field of weeds helps his neighbour".

PAUL DAHLKE

An uncompromising critic of men and matters for all his life, the Anagarika Dharmapala of Ceylon paid a handsome tribute to Dr. Paul Dahlke, the great German Buddhist, while the latter was yet alive.

"Dr. Paul Dahlke of Berlin," declared the Anagarika, "is well-known all over the world as a thinker of great originality, and as author of Buddhist essays, which were translated into English by Bhikkhu Silacara. The Sinhala Buddhists have every reason to be proud of the achievements of Dr. Dahlke of Germany, for it was in Ceylon that he learned Pāli under such well-known scholars as the Thera Sumangala and Pandit Wagiswara. For more than twenty years he has been reading and translating Pāli texts, and in Europe there is no more spiritually-minded Pāli scholar than Dr. Dahlke. He has travelled all over Ceylon, visited the ancient Viharas, and has been to historic Buddhist places in India and Burma."

"It is the personality of Dr. Dahlke that attracts people to him," continued the Anagarika. "In his daily life he is a living example to his disciples, strictly observing the Five Precepts, and still attending to his professional duties. It will be hard to find a better Buddhist than Dr. Dahlke. He is a strict vegetarian and takes no alcohol. His literary labours have won him fame in Germany."

Drawn to fields outside medicine

The son of a civil servant who brought up a large family on a modest income, Paul Dahlke was born on 25 January, 1865, in East Prussia. As a child he experienced some of life's hardships.

On the completion of his secondary education, he took up medical studies. After passing his final examination in medicine and surgery, he applied himself to homeopathy, realizing that this method of healing was most suited to his talent. He proved himself a splendid healer, establishing himself in private practice. His reputation as a healer extended far beyond his place of work—Berlin.

But he did not confine himself to his practice. He was drawn to fields outside medicine. Schopenhauer's writings made the first impact on him. Soon he switched on to the teachings of the Buddha.

Dahlke describes his first contact with Buddhism and its effects on him thus: "It was not in the shape of an emotional shock or of some decisive event that Buddhism entered my life. Slowly, imperceptibly, like the seed in the ground, did it take root and grow when in 1898 I started on my first long voyage. I had already known Buddhism for some time, but in spite of it, at that time, not India but the South Seas were the goal of my desire. Tahiti and Oweihi, as described in Chamisso's writings, attracted me more than all the wisdom of India; and when in June 1898, I landed at Apis on the Island of Sama, it appeared to me as the perfect fulfilment of my life."

"After about a year I returned home, and the Buddha's teachings must have been developing silently in me, unperceived; for already when in the following year, I set out again on travels, it was with the avowed aim of India; and not India alone but Buddhism."

Official entry into Buddhism in 1900

"In the spring of 1900 I reached Colombo, and had the great and good fortune to find at once good teachers who could give me instruction on Buddhism: Sri Sumangala Thera of Maligakanda Vihara, at a suburb of Colombo, was already an old man, but his intellect was astonishingly keen; and Nanissara Thera, his first co-worker, who took his place after his death, and who now, unfortunately, has passed away. Then there was the young bhikkhu Suriyagoda Sumangala of Sri Vardanaramaya (Colpetty) with whom I have ever since kept up a close friendship; and finally the Pandit Wagiswara who at that time lived at Payagala, on the south coast of Ceylon. To him I owe my first understanding of Buddhism, because it was he who could best adopt himself to the Western viewpoint, and also had a thorough grasp of English."

"It was then, in 1900, that I made my official entry into Buddhism and its teachings. Since that time I have been constantly travelling back and forth between India and my native

Germany; and most of the time I was ill, partly due to the climate, partly through my own fault; being dissatisfied with these restless wanderings, and yet ever drawn back to India."

Bhikkhu Silacara, the third man from the British Isles to enter the Order of Buddhist monks, has paid tribute to the memory of Dahlke : "In Dr. Paul Dahlke, the Buddhist cause in Europe possessed one of the most efficient and able pens, backed by what was certainly the most able and efficient brain that has so far appeared in Europe to champion and propagate the ideas contained in the Buddha-dhamma. Now that pen is still, that brain ceased from its endless activity in exploring every promising line of Buddhist thought, and seeking to probe it to the bottom. Dr. Dahlke was a great man; and like all great men, he did not advertise himself. The great do not need to do so. What they are, they are. It is only the would-be great and the essentially little, who need to call attention to themselves. So Dr. Dahlke never in any way strove to make men look at him. He just went on his way ceaselessly working in his own way for the propagation of the ideas in which he believed, and the result was a body of writings which will long remain as one of the most lucid, and at the same time (most unusually) the most profound expositions of Buddhism that European Buddhism has so far obtained."

Ideas brought into complete being

" For Dr. Dahlke was not content just to take what was given him in the Buddhist scriptures and swallow it whole. He sought to digest it, and incorporate it into his own mental life as part of that life; and to do this turned everything over and over in his mind until he had seen all the implications, full and complete, of every statement in Buddhist books which he deemed worthy of attention. Nay, not only that! When he had seen the truth of any of these statements, he then proceeded to put them into effective embodiment in his own life. As an acute thinker, he early realized the limitations of mere intellectualism. He saw that the intellect is only a limb of life, not life itself, and that an idea is not fully rounded and complete until it is expressed in life, in living; that up till then it is more or less of a toy, an interesting plaything, but not yet brought into real, complete earnest being.

It was into full being that he sought to bring his ideas of the Dhamma by giving them actual expression in his life; and it was to this end that he founded, after much difficulty overcome, his 'Buddhist House'. He felt that if the Buddha produced the effect he has upon human history through the effect he produced upon the history of Asia, it was not only because he spoke the words he spoke, but because he lived the life he led; and with all reverence he felt that his European followers who are his followers in more than name, had to do the same—albeit at a great distance behind the Master's great example—in also making their lives a living presentation of the Dhamma, as the only possible effective way of making Buddhist ideas impress themselves upon their fellow-continentals. In short, he felt that we must not only talk Buddhism but be Buddhists—be embodiments, to the best of our ability, of the ideas we believe in, and spare no pains towards making ourselves more and more complete embodiments of these ideas.

"When, if ever, the history of Buddhist life in Europe comes to be written, among the names that will stand highest will be that of Paul Dahlke."

"Buddhist House" converted into temple

Dahlke was the author of some 12 books on Buddhism, besides being editor of a Buddhist journal and translator of selections of the *Dīgha* and *Majjhima Nikāyas*, and of the *Dhammapada*. Some of his major works have been translated into English, Dutch, and Japanese.

The "Buddhist House" which he founded in Berlin, he explains, "was to provide a possibility for a life of self-collectedness, or at least to improve the conditions for leading such a life." This "House" has been purchased by the German Dharmaduta Society of Ceylon and converted into a Buddhist temple.

In his *Essays and Poems*,[1] Paul Dahlke states under the heading *'Is the Buddhist Selfish'* : "If the Buddhist is really a Buddhist, he will act rightly, not for the sake of a favourable rebirth—ever and again does the Buddha warn against this—but simply because his new insight compels him to act rightly. And the favourable rebirth follows as a natural consequence, just as blue sky will appear when the cloud disperses, or like the feeling of comfort after a satisfying meal. Just as one does not eat for the sake of having that comfortable feeling, but in complying with natural conditions of life, so also the right action of a Buddhist is not to bring about future comfort, but it is in pursuance of the natural conditions of existence, which, of course, demands a good measure of keen insight to be recognized as such. Thus the right action of the Buddhist is of a nature that serves not for the affirmation of self but for the giving up of self."

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[1] *Essays and Poems* by Paul Dahlke—Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy, Ceylon.

Dahlke concludes his *Last Lecture*,[1] which was read on his behalf, shortly before his death, over the Berlin Radio, thus: "Buddhism has a great mission to fulfil in the life of mankind that cannot be performed by any other religion or philosophy. Irreplaceable for the seeker after Truth, and entirely unique in its mental structure for the thinker, the Buddha Dhamma stands secure in the power of its inner Truth, waiting serenely for that recognition of its worth which other religions seek to obtain by eager propagation."

Among Dahlke's works available in English translations are: *Buddhist Essays* (1903), *Buddhism and Science* (1914), *Buddhist Stories* (1921), *Buddhism and its place in the Mental Life of Mankind* (1928).

Dahlke died in 1928.

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[1] *Essays and Poems* by Paul Dahlke—Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy, Ceylon.

K.E. NEUMANN

Karl Eugen Neumann, one of the earliest Buddhist scholars of Germany, was at one time so strained financially that thoughts of suicide had entered his head. "If matters come to a point when one has to fight daily with the most disgusting conditions of life, with law suits, bailiffs, and creditors, then one must be wise enough to say: I pass," he once wrote to George Grimm who had been of immense financial assistance to him.

In 1894 Neumann spent ten months in India where he visited all the places of interest to a student of Buddhism. From India he crossed over to Ceylon, made an extensive study of Pāli and engaged himself in the interpretation of Buddhist texts with the assistance of learned Sinhala monks. He did not join the company of Europeans in Ceylon as other Westerners did at the time, but mixed freely with Sinhala monks and lay Buddhists. He kept aloof from the Europeans because he knew they were then generally prejudiced against Buddhism and Sinhala culture in which he was keenly interested.

Inspired by Schopenhauer's philosophy

Neumann had numerous disappointments and financial difficulties almost throughout his life. He was born in Vienna on 18 October, 1865, and baptized as a Roman Catholic. But his name appeared in the *Great Jewish National Biography*, which led to the belief that he was a Jew. Neither he nor his father had, however, acknowledged that they belonged to the Jewish race. His father, Angelo Neumann, was a reputed bandmaster of Prague, who had been of much service to Richard Wagner, the great composer and dramatist. His mother, Aurelie Mihalovits, was a highly gifted woman who was keenly interested in Indian literature.

He first attended Thomas School in Leipzig, where the family had then moved to. After completing the four lower classes there, he went in 1879 to the Leipzig Commercial School in order to learn modern languages. In 1882 he travelled in England and Italy.

In 1884 a sudden change took place in his life : he came across Schopenhauer's works, and inspired by these studies, he occupied himself with Buddhism in the spring of 1884 for the first time. Later he wrote: "I was so deeply moved that inwardly I broke with my whole past."

He next secured a minor post in a bank in Germany. After his official duties, he devoted his time—often until three o'clock in the morning—with philosophical studies and Indian translations. After three years, he resigned his post at the bank and went to an Obergymnasium in Prague where he passed his Abitur in 1887. In the summer of the same year he matriculated at the Friedrich-Wilhelm University in Berlin, where he studied for five semesters. He attended in particular lectures on comparative religion and philosophy by Paul Deussen, sinology by G. Grube, indology by Hermann Oldenburg and Albrecht Weber, archaeology by I. Wahlea, medicine by Ae. DuBois-Reymond, W. Waldeyer, and G. Preyer, and astronomy by W. Forester. He became disappointed in his studies, however, because he "very soon realized that universities offer no room and opportunity for higher knowledge."

Buddhist Anthology—his first major work

In 1889, while yet a student, Neumann married Kamilla Nordmann, the daughter of Johannes Nordmann, the poet. E. Reinhard, the publisher of Neumann's complete edition, describes her as "a fine pianist and kindhearted woman."

The next year saw Neumann at the University of Halle, where Professor R. Pischel became his much admired teacher. In January 1891, he obtained his doctorate in philosophy from the University of Leipzig. His thesis for the doctorate was a textual criticism: *Des Sarasangaho ein Kompendium Buddhischer Anschauungen Brstes Kapital* (The First Chapter of the *Sarasangaho* a Compendium of Buddhist Views).

He next went to Vienna. Towards the end of 1891 he stayed for six weeks in Holland, where his first major work, *Buddhistische Anthologie* (Buddhist Anthology) was published.

In 1893 he applied from England for a permanent post in India, but was unsuccessful. His next application which he made to an India Mahārajah for means for a permanent stay in India was not answered. He complained bitterly: "It is not my fault if I have to work all my life here in Europe in this age of electricity". His Indian trip, which he made in 1894, exceeded his expectations. He described this trip in a valuable diary which was found in his literary bequest. On his return from India and Ceylon, he spent a year in London. He had known London from his youth and felt more at home there than elsewhere in Northern Europe. In London he came in contact with Rhys Davids and enlarged his knowledge of Buddhist research. He also translated the first fifty dialogues of the Buddha in the *Majjhima Nikāya*. On his return to Vienna, after about three dozen refusals he found a publisher in Wilhelm Friedrich in 1896 for this translation.

Serious financial difficulties

Neumann worked at the Oriental Department of the University of Vienna with George Buhler on Indian inscriptions, most of which had not yet been published. Although this work made great demands on his time, he translated the *Theragāthā* and *Therīgāthā* under the title *Der Lieder der Monche und Nonnen Gotama Buddhos*. It was published in 1899. When Buhler was drowned in the Lake of Constance in 1898 Neumann became very lonely, for he was the only man with whom he kept company. So he left Vienna and went to Germany to work independently. However, he soon returned to Vienna where he worked on the translation of the last part of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, which was published in 1902. He spent the next two years in translating the *Sutta Nipāta*. This was published by Johannes Ambrosius Barth. In September 1905, he started the translation of the *Dīgha Nikāya* and completed the first volume by the end of January 1906. It was published shortly afterwards.

In 1906 Neumann lost all his money in a bank crash, and in order to live had to sell gradually all the valuables he possessed. Among other things, he had to sell his library of over 4,000 books which he had collected with great love since his fifteenth year. He had been in serious financial difficulties since 1910, and his friend, Dr. George Grimm, gave him considerable sums of money several times. He had to pawn even the complete Pāli canon presented to him by the King of Siam and could not prevent it from being forfeited. About this time, however, his father died, leaving him a small fortune. With this money he bought back his Siamese edition of the Pāli canon, and started on translating the second volume of the *Dīgha Nikāya.* He worked ten hours a day and completed the work in May 1911. Even before this volume was published in 1912, he started work on the third and last volume of the *Dīgha Nikāya,* which, as he wrote to Lorenzo, he completed in January 1913, "under unutterable pains."

Neumann had a premonition that he would die in September 1915. He wrote to George Grimm to that effect in August. But he died on 18 October, 1915, on his fiftieth birthday, of an attack of pneumonia.

KARL SEIDENSTUCKER

Dr. Karl Seidenstucker occupied a prominent place among active Buddhist workers in Germany for more than a quarter century. He forged a link between the Buddhist movement in the East and that in Germany when, on 1 May, 1911, he and his co-workers established in Leipzig a German branch of the Mahābodhi Society of India and Ceylon, founded in 1891 by the Anagarika Dharmapala of Colombo.

As early as 1907, Seidenstucker had conceived the idea of a German branch of the Mahābodhi Society. He stressed the merits of the Mahābodhi Society when he said that it understood the spiritual needs of the various countries and that it was able to adapt itself to the needs of the West. Dr. F. Zimmermann, the author of the Buddhist catechism, subsequently published under the title of *The Message of Buddhism*, was the first president of the German branch, and Seidenstucker himself became its secretary.

In 1905 Seidenstucker started and edited *The Buddhist*, an independent monthly, to which a supplement was added subsequently under the title of *The Buddhist World*. The latter exclusively carried news about Buddhist missionary activities. Later, he and George Grimm edited *Buddhistischer Weltspiegel*, a monthly journal devoted to Buddhism and Buddhist culture.

Seidenstucker was born on 23 March, 1875, and studied natural science, medicine, philosophy, and philology at the Universities of Gottingen, Leipzig, and Halle. From 1902 he had been engaged on a detailed study of Pāli Buddhism and Pāli literature. He was a pupil of Professor Moritz Winternitz of Prague. In 1910 he translated and published the *Khuddaka Pāṭha*, and in the next year he brought out his *Pāli Buddhismus in Ubersetzungen* (Pāli Buddhism in Translations). A second enlarged and improved edition of this work was published in 1923.

He was co-founder with George Grimm of the Altbuddhistische Gemeinde (Old Buddhist Community) in Utting am Ammersee in 1921. He was known as Girimananda, a name sacred to Buddhists. (Girimananda was the name of one of the eighty Great Disciples of the Buddha.)

He died on 29 October, 1936.

FRIEDRICH ZIMMERMANN

Friedrich Zimmermann, a civil engineer by profession, became an ardent Buddhist in the 1880s and adopted the name of Bhikshu Subhadra without going through the formal ceremony of ordination as a Buddhist monk. He did not shave his head, nor did he change his mode of dress.

Not satisfied with Buddhist catechisms of the day in European languages, he wrote a catechism based on the *Sutta Piṭaka* and *Vinaya Piṭaka* and published it in 1888. Like Sir Edwin Arnold's *The Light of Asia*, it proved a best-seller and ran to fourteen impressions. This work made him famous throughout the German-speaking world and beyond. Later, he changed the title of the book to *The Message of Buddhism*[1]. England and America published English translations of the book in 1890 and 1895, respectively. A French edition came out in France in 1889 and in Switzerland in 1897. A Japanese edition was published in 1889 and an Italian edition in 1897. Hungary published a translation in 1901 and again in 1906. In the next year the book was published in Spanish. A Russian translation was printed, but the Czarist regime banned its publication. Ceylon published an English translation in 1908.

Zimmermann spent the proceeds of the sale of the book on the dissemination of the Buddha Dhamma in Germany.

Born in 1851, Zimmermann was a mathematician and graduated in engineering. He was led to the study of Buddhism by Schopenhauer's high appreciation of the Buddha's teachings. He studied Pāli, read the Pāli canon, and studied with care the *Majjhima Nikāya* in Neumann's translation.

He was a co-worker of George Grimm and Karl Seidenstucker in the dissemination of the Dhamma in Germany. Grimm was his closest friend. "As deeply religious men, both found their innermost contentment in the Buddha's teaching, which for them was the greatest joy of their lives."

Zimmermann had decided to revise his *The Message of Buddhism* in the light of the interpretations of George Grimm in his outstanding work *The Doctrine of the Buddha: the religion of reason and meditation*, but, unfortunately, death prevented him from doing so. Zimmermann's book was, however, not forgotten. In 1921 Seidenstucker brought out a new edition of the book. Out of respect for Zimmermann the contents of the book were left unaltered, and all revisions were made in the form of notes and comments.

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[1] Luzac & Co., London.

A forthright critic of the view that Nibbāna is nihilism, Zimmermann was firmly convinced that Nibbāna is extinction of greed, hatred, and delusion—not the extinction of the self.

He died on 30 June, 1917.

HANS MUCH

A Doctor of Medicine and a Doctor of Physiology at the early age of 22, the discoverer of what is well known in the medical world as the "Much-granule" and an internationally famous tuberculosis specialist, Dr. Hans Much became a Buddhist after reading a book by George Grimm on Buddhism, and devoted fifteen years of his life of fifty-two to the study, practice and dissemination of Buddhism in his fatherland.

Born of Protestant parents in 1880 in Neuitrelitz, Germany, Hans Much was a prodigy from his early boyhood. He excelled both in sciences and humanities at the grammar school, carrying away all the coveted prizes. At the medical school he won the gold medal at the M.D. examination, and obtained his doctorate in physiology as well. Not only did he show extraordinary brilliance in medicine and physiology, but he also blossomed into a poet.

An intensive researcher in medicine for which he became world-famous, Hans Much worked with the great German physician, Dr. Emil von Behring at Eppendorf hospital, Hamburg, where he discovered a form of tubercle bacilli which, when coloured by a process he had himself evolved, presented themselves as fine granules. The medical world named them after him.

Appointed Professor of Medicine, he was placed in charge of experimental therapy at Eppendorf hospital where the most serious cases of tuberculosis quickly responded to his treatment. He saved the lives of innumerable patients.

His ideal of a medical man Hans Much sums up as follows : "One becomes a physician or surgeon not to amass wealth, nor to prolong a man's life to enable him to continue to enjoy what are called the good things of life, but to help him to become a man of purity. That is the only justification for being a physician or surgeon."

His conception of the attitude of a patient who seeks a longer life, Hans Much sums up thus : "If a patient wants to prolong his life, he must do so with the intention not of enjoying what are called the good things of life, but of winning the possibility of working for self-purification."

Book that completely changed his life

Hans Much found his way to Buddhism through *The Doctrine of the Buddha : the Religion of Reason and Meditation* by George Grimm, which appeared in 1915. Much was then 35, and was at the zenith of his fame as a tuberculosis specialist. He had a fabulous income from his private practice.

"This book completely changed my life," wrote Much. "When I read Grimm's interpretations of the *anattā* idea there, I felt as if the Buddha held me completely in his grip. Grimm says that the kernel of the Buddha doctrine is in the *anattā* idea. I quite agree. For one who has understood this all other parts of the doctrine are self-evident. The *anattā* thought is the mightiest thought that has ever been conceived, as Grimm says. Nevertheless, this thought is at the same time of an astonishing simplicity. As Grimm explains, it denotes: Nothing, absolutely nothing perceptible in myself is my true being. The whole world, by which all that is perceptible about myself is understood, is *anattā*, not-self. Of this world it has to be said: "This belongs to me not, this I am not, this is not my self."

"I have already felt what Nirvāṇa is like," Hans Much once wrote to Grimm. "Just this about it! One fine day when I was lying down in the grass, thinking of nothing, the world around me disappeared and I was absolutely free from any wish. Our greatest happiness, if we think about it, is not the few moments when wishes come true, but those rarer moments of being completely without wishes. These one keeps in memory as something precious. They are the anticipation of Nirvāṇa. Nirvāṇa is reached when we no longer wish for anything."[1]

Money for dissemination of Buddhism

In 1919, at the age of 39, Hans Much became an active co-worker of George Grimm in the dissemination of Buddhism in Germany, spending considerable sums of money for the purpose. He assisted George Grimm and Karl Seidenstucker in editing *The World Buddhist Mirror*. He was one of its regular contributors. He gradually gave up his practice, and treated only poor patients free of charge. He spent long hours daily in the practice of meditation.

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[1] In a letter to George Grimm.

The first book that Hans Much wrote was *Buddha, der Schritt in des Heimatlossigkett* (Buddha, the Step into Homelessness). It proved a great success. It was soon followed by a novel about the Buddha's visit to Kapilavatthu entitled *Die Heimkehr des Vollendeten* (The home-coming of the Accomplished One). This too was a best-seller. In another work, which was serialized in *The Buddhist World Mirror*, he paraphrased with remarkable clarity the verses of the *Dhammapada*.

Much wrote a brilliant preface to Grimm's book, *Buddhistische Weisheit*, to which he added a supplement in verse of a high order. America published an English translation of it under the title *Buddhist Wisdom*.

His last book was a fine poetical work under the title *An Buddhas Hand, Lieder der Erweckung* (On the Buddha's Hand, Songs of Awakening) in which he emphasizes that "our real being has nothing in common with our personality. The suffering of impermanence is the reminder that we are imperishable."

This view is contrary to that of Buddhaghoṣa, the great 5th century commentator of Pāli Buddhism.

Dr. Hans Much scrupulously followed the Buddhist Way of Life from his 35th year. His untimely death in 1932 at the age of 52 created a void which German Buddhists have found it difficult to fill.

WILHELM GEIGER

Wilhelm Geiger carved for himself a niche in the world of oriental scholarship by covering an unusually wide field of research. We have to recognize three main parts of equal importance in his work: his Iranian studies, his Pāli studies, and his studies of Ceylon and the Sinhalese language and literature.

Geiger was born in Nuremburg in 1856, and studied oriental languages in the University of Erlangen under Professor Friedrich von Spiegel.

Spiegel was the first German scholar to study Pāli (after the Norwegian-born Christian Lassen) and the first German scholar to edit Pāli texts (*Kammavakya* in 1841 and *Anecdota Pālica* in 1845) and to collect material systematically for a Pāli dictionary. The manuscript of this dictionary (*Lexicon Palicum*) was never published. Later, Spiegel turned to Iranian philology and never returned to Pāli philology. When Geiger studied under him, Spiegel had already put aside his Pāli studies.

Geiger took his Ph.D. with a thesis on an *Avestan* text in 1877. Shortly afterwards he published a study in the field of Western classics: *De Callini elegiarum scriptoria aetate* (1878). It is still referred to in modern books of Greek literature. But soon he concentrated again on oriental studies and became a lecturer. Although he was forced to earn his livelihood as a lecturer in Latin and Greek at Houstadt Gymnasium from 1880 to 1884, far away from any big libraries, he published a series of important studies of the Iranian language, literature and history.

Mahāvaṁsa translation 'a masterpiece'

His first visit to Ceylon was in 1895. Geiger vividly describes it in his book on Ceylon (1898). A few days after his arrival in Ceylon he answered the questions of a local journalist about the purpose of his visit.

"I have been sent here to study Sinhalese, especially for scientific purposes," he said. "I hope to find out whether it comes under the category of Aryan languages or not. That is still a subject of dispute among leading men in Europe, and I have come to see if I can settle that bone of contention."

"And he could," states Professor Heinz Bechert. "In 1897 he published a treatise on the languages of the Rodiyas in Ceylon, in 1898 the first German edition of his etymological glossary of the Sinhalese language, and in 1900 his *Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalessa*. He wrote at length of the importance of his visit to Ceylon."

His edition and translation of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, described as a "masterpiece of critical philology," was published between 1908 and 1930. Further, in the words of Professor Bechert, "he contributed to our knowledge of Pāli literature by investigations into the sources and development of the Pāli chronicles in his editions and translations of the *Dīpavaṁsa* and the *Mahāvaṁsa*, 1905." (English translation by Ethel Coomaraswamy.)

When Geiger was already reputed to be one of the most eminent Pāli scholars, states Professor Bechert, two tasks fell to him; first, to lend his assistance to the plan for an international Pāli dictionary and, secondly, to write a Pāli grammar. The former was abandoned for various reasons. Geiger sent all his lexicographical material to Rhys Davids for his Pāli-English Dictionary. His Pāli grammar has been an indispensable book for every Pāli scholar since 1916. It was translated into English and published by the Calcutta University in 1943 and 1956.

Indispensable handbook on Pāli philology

In 1918 Geiger and his wife, Magdalene, edited and translated the second section of the famous collection of stories called *Rasavāhinī*: the first section had been edited and published by Spiegel in 1848 in his *Anecdota Pālica*.

Magdalene and Wilhelm Geiger published a treatise in 1920 on the meaning of the Pāli word *Dhamma*. It has become an indispensable handbook on Pāli philology. An important addendum to this work is his *Dhamma and Brahman* (1921).

He translated volumes I and II of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* which "is remarkable both for the utmost preciseness and for the beauty of the language employed."

Geiger succeeded Ernst Kuhn as Professor of Indology and Iranian Studies in the Munich University in 1920. He retired from this post at the age of 68 and spent the rest of his life in a small village near Munich. But there was no interruption of his prolific literary activities. He interpreted difficult passages in the Pāli canon which, however, have remained unpublished. One of his letters written in Pāli to Polwatte Buddhadatta Mahā Thera of Ceylon has been published by the latter in his autobiography. Buddhadatta's *Aids to Pāli Conversation* also contains this letter.

At the invitation of the Government of Ceylon, Geiger visited the Island for the third time in 1931 to be editor of the Dictionary of the Sinhalese Language. Professor Helmer Smith collaborated with him in this task as joint editor.

After the completion of a *Grammar of the Sinhalese Language* (1938), he again concentrated on a study of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, this time to investigate mediaeval Sinhalese culture. When he had completed the manuscript of *Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times* in 1940 (published in 1960) and provided an examination of Sinhalese syntax in *Studies zur Geschiehte und Sprache Ceylon und Beitrage zur singhalesischen Sprachgeschicte* (1942), he had achieved his life's work.[1]

He died on 2 September, 1943.

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[1] Based on Professor Bechert's biography of Geiger.

MORITZ WINTERNITZ

An Austrian by birth and a friend of Rhys Davids, Moritz Winternitz was a professor in the German University of Prague, and a scholar of the front rank.

The History of Indian Literature (*Geschichte der Indischen Literatur*) is the most outstanding of his numerous publications. It deals with Indian literature from the earliest times in all its aspects, and is considered a work of the highest standard.

He was a great advocate of women's rights, and was the author of several works on the subject of women such as *The Widow in the Veda*, *Women in the Indian Religions*, *Women in Brahmanism*, *Women in Ethnology*, *Women and War in the Light of Ethnology*, *Women in the Cultural Movement of the Present*, *Should Women be Allowed to Vote?*, *Women's Compulsory Service*, *On the Movements on the Right of Vote for Women*, and *Cultural Ideals and Womanhood.*

Another subject on which he vigorously wrote was war. He was a pacifist. *The Stupidity of War* was his best book on the theme.

Winternitz was born in Horn, Lower Austria, on 23 December, 1863, and obtained his doctorate from the University of Vienna in 1885. In 1888 he went to Oxford and worked as Max Muller's assistant. He carried on intensive research in indology at the Royal Asiatic Society library under the direction of Rhys Davids.[1]

He died in Prague on 9 January, 1937.

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[1] Based on Winternitz's biography by Dr. Martin Kraatz.

ERICH FRAUWALLNER

An intensive researcher and author of some twenty works on *Theravāda* and *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, Erich Frauwallner was a professor in the University of Vienna and a member of the Austrian Academy of Sciences.

"In a remarkable piece of inspired detective work, Professor Frauwallner in *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature* (1956) has proved almost conclusively that before Aśoka a great work, the *Skandhaka*, was produced, which divided and arranged the enormous material concerning monastic rules according to a well-conceived plan," states Dr. Edward Conze in his book *Thirty Years of Buddhist Studies*. "It regulates the fundamental institutions of Buddhist monastic life, the admission to the Order, the confession ceremonies, the retiring during the rainy season, and discusses clothing, food and drugs for the sick, as well as the rules to be observed in the punishment of offenders. This *Skandhaka* is in fact the earliest Buddhist literary work of which we have any definite knowledge."

Among Frauwallner's other works are : *Investigations on Moksaddharma* (The Relation towards Buddhism), *On the Fragments of Buddhist Logicians in Nyāyavārttikam*, *Dharmakīrti's Sambandhaparīkṣā* (text and translation), *Dharmutara's Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhiḥ* (text and translation), *The Buddhist Councils*, *The Ceylon Chronicles and the first Buddhist Mission to Indo-China*, *The Philosophy of Buddhism*, *Vasubandhu's Vādavidhiḥ*, *Abhidharma Studies*, *Pañcaskandhakam* 1 and 2, *The Canonical Abhidhamma Works*, and *The History of Indian Philosophy*. In the first volume of the last work the Buddha's doctrine is dealt with.

Frauwallner accepts the Buddha's statement that the five groups of grasping do not constitute one's self, but states that the Buddha has not answered the question of self because it was one of those questions that lead to fruitless discussion and divert us from the goal of salvation.

Frauwallner was born on 28 December, 1898.[1]

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[1] Based on biography of Frauwallner by Mrs. Emily Knothe.

GUSTAV MENSCHING

Professor Gustav Mensching is a great scholar of Buddhism who has to his credit not only works on Buddhism but also on other religions.

He writes at length on the problem of self (*ātta*) in his *Buddhistische Geisteswelt* (the Spiritual World of Buddhism). He states : "Research in the West is not wholly in agreement on what was meant in the original teaching of the Buddha. Is each and every self denied, or does the Buddha wish to deprive of the real self only the world of phenomena, and hence that which has concrete existence, and thus all knowledge and dominability? "I, for my part," he states, "regard the latter view as being very much to the point, and believe that the texts also support this conception. By illusion of personality is clearly understood the complex of the five groups of clinging which is comprised in the individual. Apart from these factors that constitute personality, there is no personality. But the man who is unredeemed erroneously identifies with self certain of these factors of existence. The famous sermon on the not-self says in effect that the Buddha makes it clear that none of the finite and fleeting elements of existence is 'my self'. Thus there is stated perfectly clearly the existence of an ultimate absolute behind the fleeting factors. The refusal of a statement concerning the existence or non-existence of a self proper means that the categories of 'being' and 'not-being', which spring from, and refer only to, the finite world, do not apply to the absolute. A distinction is drawn between three kinds of the (finite) self as possible (but erroneous) views, namely, the material self, the spiritual self, and the self consisting only of consciousness. Man must be delivered from all three forms of the so-called self. Even consciousness is, as we see, a group of existence-factors, and consequently is not maintained in the cycle of rebirth; it arises and passes away in accordance with the law of dependent origination. The pernicious character of finite individual existence is in particular characterized by the assumption of ten fetters, the first five of which lead to a lower rebirth, and the sixth to the tenth, in so far as the first five are broken, lead to a higher existence which, of course, is also in need of salvation."

Buddha's assumption of an ultimate self

Mensching agrees with Frauwallner that the Buddha assumed an ultimate self about which he did not speak for the reason that it would lead to profitless discussion and would divert us from the goal of salvation.

Born on 6 May, 1901, in Hannover, Mensching studied at the University of Bonn, and qualified in theology, philosophy, comparative religion, Sanskrit and Pāli. Among his teachers was Rudolf Otto, the famous author of *The Holy*, which ran to thirty editions. He obtained his doctorate with a thesis on *The Holy Silence* which was published in 1926. In 1927 he was appointed Professor of Religious History at the Latvian University, Riga, where he remained until 1935. He then returned to the University of Bonn as Professor of Comparative Religion. He continues in that post which has enabled him to make a special study of Buddhism.

Among his numerous publications are *Buddhist Symbolism* (1929) and *Buddhist Spiritual World* (1955).[1]

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[1] Based on account supplied by Mrs. Emily Knothe.

H. VON GLASENAPP

"Buddhism still has for the general history of philosophy an incomparably great significance", states H. von Glasenapp, one of Germany's greatest scholars of Buddhism, in his monumental work, *The Philosophy of the Indians*. "It has established philosophy in Ceylon, Further India, Tibet and Mongolia and has there remained its great representative down to the present day. It has introduced the spirit of India into China and Japan and there it has again become, either directly or indirectly, the starting point of fresh metaphysical systems, which even today have retained their vital force."

H. von Glasenapp takes a view on self opposite to that of some other scholars.

The *anātta* doctrine is central to any understanding of Buddhism. "There has been a persistent tendency to attribute to primitive Buddhism the Upanishadic teaching of the Self, or *ātman*. Little can be adduced from the existing scriptures in support of this thesis, but it has been the curse of Buddhist studies that people will persist in believing that the Buddhists must have radically misunderstood the Buddha, and so they hanker, in the words of Professor Murti, after a 'soul-affirming primitive Buddhism followed by a soul-denying scholastic Buddhism.' To again quote from Professor Murti, 'if the *ātman* had been a cardinal doctrine with Buddhism, why was it so securely hidden under a bushel that even the immediate followers of the Master had no inkling of it ? The Upanishads, on the other hand, blaze forth the reality of the *ātman* in every page, in every line almost'. "The word *ātman* was to such an extent a 'bad word' for the Buddhists, that they carefully avoid using it for Nirvāṇa, and that even the 'Personalists' always speak of a *pudgala*, and never of an *ātman*", states Dr. Edward Conze, in his *Thirty Years of Buddhist Studies*, adding: "The question has meanwhile once and for all been settled by Professor von Glasenapp's book *Vedānta and Buddhism*. He shows that the Upanishadic doctrine is mentioned in the Buddhist scriptures only very rarely, and then always polemically, that most of the confusion is due to 'arbitrary translations which contradict the whole of the Buddhist tradition', and he points out that the researches of the Leningrad school have made 'the attempts to find room for the *ātman* in the teachings of the Buddha quite antiquated'. 'There can', as Von Glasenapp says, 'be no doubt that the works of Rosenberg and Stcherbatsky have for the first time put the understanding of Buddhism as a well-balanced philosophical system on a new and firm basis, which is all the more solid because it can enlist the agreement of all Buddhist schools of Asia'. And 'it is the basic idea of the whole system that all dharmas are devoid of *ātman*, and without cogent reasons one ought not to claim that the Buddha himself has taught anything contrary to that which his disciples have for more than two thousand years been regarding as the quintessence of their doctrine'. It is well-known, of course, that theories often manage to linger on, long after their validity has been exploded. So it will be here also. As long as people insist on writing about the orthodox *nairātmaya* theory without practising the meditations which were designed to disclose it, misconceptions are bound to crop up."

Buddhism in India and the Far East (1936), *The Wisdom of the Buddha* (1946), and *The Indian Image of German Thinkers* (1960) are among his numerous works. Lt. Col. E.F.J. Payne has translated some of his books into English.

Awarded Schopenhauer medallion in 1960

Glasenapp had been an active member of the German Schopenhauer Society since 1928 and had contributed many articles to its Yearbooks. In 1960, on the occasion of the centenary of Schopenhauer's death, he was awarded the Schopenhauer medallion for his great contributions to the study of Indian philosophy and religion. Only twenty of these medallions were struck and presented to men and women who had distinguished themselves in spheres allied to Schopenhauer's philosophy.

Born in Berlin in September 1891, Glasenapp was a lecturer from 1918 to 1928 at Bonn and then in Berlin. He was Professor of Indology in Koenigsberg from 1928 to 1945. After the war he was appointed Professor of Indology and Comparative Religion in Tubingen until he was made an emeritus professor in 1960.

As the result of a road accident, Glasenapp died in June, 1963, in Tubingen. With his death the German world of learning lost one of the acknowledged masters of indology. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, former President of India, described him as a "guru". A guru is both a master and a spiritual leader. Glasenapp was a savant who was able to give a graphic account of the results of his many world-wide investigations, and a teacher who to the end of his life was always ready to learn and to convey to others his ideas and experiences and the rich treasures of his vast knowledge.

MRS. MAYA KELLER-GRIMM

Professor Paul Deussen, the eminent indologist, used to call an eleven-year-old girl "my little girl philosopher." That was early in the present century. Today in her seventieth year she has become the most ardent evangelist of Theravāda Buddhism in Western Germany. She is Frau Maya Keller-Grimm also known as Sister Maya, the daughter of Dr. George Grimm.

The story of her life is one of no little human interest. and it is best related in her own words. "When I was a girl of eleven, my parents and I used to sit together to read a Buddha dialogue", she wrote to me. "And since I was the one allowed to read to my parents, I did so with double the usual pleasure and carefulness. Sometimes, two evenings were necessary for a dialogue. Never did we go through a dialogue all at once, but did so in sections. Whether the subject was the Four Noble Truths or the Path in particular or Nibbāna or Tathāgata, my father always clearly explained to us with appropriate similes and illustrations what I had read."

"I listened with rapt attention to my father's expositions. Not only the contents of the dialogues themselves, but also the respective narratives around them aroused my greatest interest. Soon I knew every dialogue in which the Accomplished One himself led the dialogue, and also those in which his place was taken by Sariputta or Moggallāna or other great disciples. I knew all about Visakha, the great laywoman adherent, Anathapindika, the illustrious benefactor of the poor and of the Buddha and his Order, Gathikara, the potter, and his friend, Jotipala, Queen Mallika and King Pasenadi of Kosala.

Deussen's 'little girl philosopher'

"The persons figuring in the canon were quite alive to me. The Psalms of the Brethren and Sisters strongly appealed to me. My great adoration went to Mahāprajāpati Gotamī, the woman who was responsible for the creation of the Order of Nuns, and Dhammadinnā, the peerless woman exponent of the Dhamma. That even children could attain holiness made a strong appeal to me.

"The culmination of our evening readings was for me *The Last Days of Gotama Buddha, The Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, which details the facts about the Buddha's passing away. It greatly stirred me. My father arranged these readings for the Christmas vacation. You may call it sentimental or what you like. The passing away of the Accomplished One moved me so much that I felt like standing beside weeping Ānanda, and I burst into bitter tears. It took all my strength to pull myself together to continue the reading. Even later, as a grown-up woman, the same thing happened to me whenever I read *The Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*."

"Paul Deussen, who almost every year was our guest for several weeks, often told me about Schopenhauer. From my father I learnt that Deussen was a man of great learning and renown. I was mighty proud when he took me upon his knees and chatted with me. He used to call 'me my little girl philosopher'. He said one did not know what would become of her. Today I cannot but smile when I reflect on the eagerness with which I tried to follow the talks between him and my father. Even though I did not understand much of the talk, yet I was able to grasp a few points. It may be that part of my strong religious philosophical nature was perhaps due to acquisitions of past births. It may also be due to the training my father gave me. Almost imperceptibly philosophy became for me the queen of all arts. The words of Schopenhauer that a true philosopher knows no other striving than the striving for truth, that he accepts nothing as being known but that everything in like degree is strange to him......led me to see quite a few things with different eyes. Thus it has become a matter of course in my thinking that all that is Great, Good and Noble would always have to be looked for in a spiritual level."

A life devoted to Buddhism

To this spiritual outlook of which the seed was laid in her girlhood, Frau Keller-Grimm has remained true. She has dedicated her life to Buddhism. She had the consent of her father to renounce the comforts of a life which she might have led as the wife of a highly successful man. She meditates several hours a day both in the morning and at night. The rest of her time she devotes to the service of Buddhism. She is a remarkably strong and active woman for her age. She enjoys perfect health, which she attributes to control of the mind through meditation.

Frau Keller-Grimm is co-head of the Altbuddhistische Gemeinde, Utting, a lay Order of men and women dedicated to Buddhism. Besides her contributions to the *Yāna*, the bi-monthly published by the Gemeinde, and her introductions to some of her father's works she is the author of a Buddhist catechism.

MAX HOPPE

Max Hoppe, also known as Anagarika Dharmapala, is the joint head of the Altbuddhistische Gemeinde. He is a celibate. Since the end of World War II, Hoppe has devoted all his time to meditation and to the dissemination of the Dhamma in Germany.

Born on 24 April, 1907, Max Hoppe had a liberal education. His father was a postmaster. His parents desired him to read theology, which he did not like. He took to business, but was unhappy in it, for he was inclined towards philosophy. Schopenhauer's works made him turn to Indian thought, the perfection of which he saw in the Buddha. In 1936 he came across George Grimm's works on Buddhism which he read with keen interest and earnestness. He then joined the Altbuddhistische Gemeinde and began the study of Pāli and Sanskrit, becoming a pupil of George Grimm.

With the outbreak of war in 1939, his services were requisitioned as a wireless operator. He abhorred any kind of war service, but under Hitler's regime he had no choice. His work as a wireless operator, however, did not require the use of weapons and that he considers a good fortune—the fruit of a wholesome karma. Despite his war service, he continued his Buddhist studies, snatching every possible minute for the purpose.

War convinced him of teaching's truth

At the height of war, amid great hardships and hazards, he visited George Grimm. On one such occasion, Grimm read out and explained to him the *Mahānāma Sutta* in which the Buddha points out that whoever has unshakable faith in the Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha may not fear death in the tumult of everyday life. The war convinced Max Hoppe of the truth of the Buddha's teaching.

Shortly after the end of the war he settled down in the Altbuddhistische Gemeinde. Not long afterwards, the Elders there approached him with the request that he take charge of the management of the institution together with another Elder. Since then he has been engaged in this work.

The 15th German edition of George Grimm's great work *The Doctrine of the Buddha: the Religion of Reason and Meditation* and its second English edition have been published with an illuminating introduction by Max Hoppe and Mrs. Maya Keller-Grimm, the daughter of George Grimm. Together they have brough out seven other works of George Grimm in new editions, two of which are in a fourth enlarged edition. Max Hoppe himself is the author of a work entitled *The Buddha, His Teaching and His Way*.

Max Hoppe is joint editor with Mrs. Keller-Grimm of *Yāna*, the bi-monthly of the Altbuddhistische Gemeinde. It enjoys a wide circulation in the German-speaking world.

At the first meeting of the German branch of the Congress of Faiths in 1957, Max Hoppe gave a forceful address on *The Relation of Buddhism to Other Religions* which evoked high appreciation.

MRS. EMILY KNOTHE

A 67-year-old German woman who graduated in America and later served as a secretary in such big firms as Gillette, Mitsui of Japan and Standard Oil Company of New Jersey is today a dedicated Buddhist worker in Germany. She is Mrs. Emily Knothe, also known as Sister Mallika of the Altbuddhistische. She is an Elder of the Community's Order of laymen and laywomen who have vowed to realize in the present life itself the fruit of the first stage—*Sotapaññā*—of the path to full Enlightenment.

She has related at the author's request the full story of her life with the utmost candour. The story has its poignancy and reveals the grim determination and courage with which she faced the trials and tribulations in her life.

The daughter of the chief steward of a passenger liner, Emily Knothe was born in Hamburg on 27 October, 1904. She had her primary education in her home town. At the outbreak of World War I her father's ship happened to be in New York harbour and could not return to Hamburg. She was a little girl then. Her adventurous mother decided to follow her husband to New York. A Dutch steamer took them there through the heavily-mined English channel. The family reunion, however, was not to last long, for when America entered the war on the side of the Allies, her father was interned, and mother and daughter were left alone in a foreign land. Soon, however, some Americans of German descent helped them to tide over their difficulties.

A cure for dread of life and fear of death

"As a little girl I was wondering about life," she writes. "Americans were quite well off and lived in comfort. We were poor, living on the charity of friends. That seemed queer to me. I dreaded life, and always feared to lose my mother. The fear of death haunted me like a spectre. But today fear has vanished from me. The Buddha's doctrine of impermanence, and meditation have opened my eyes to the realities of life and its vicissitudes.

After all, birth and death are two phases of one process. So why fear death?"

Released after the war, her father started a printing business in America which he carried on quite successfully for many years. She studied and graduated, and obtained employment in various big companies in the capacity of secretary. They returned to Germany on the insistence of her mother who died three years later, and then life seemed worthless to her. At about the same time another misfortune befell them: they lost all their money in the currency inflation. But "as I had gained considerable experience in America as a secretary and stenographer both in German and English, I was able to secure a well-paid job. With my earnings I supported my broken-down father," she writes.

Emily Knothe disclosed the fact that her engagement with the man who became her husband lasted thirteen years. He did not want to marry her during that long period because he was among the unemployed. Four years after their marriage, her husband was killed in Russia in the early days of the German invasion. With his insurance money and her own savings she purchased a house in the country near Luneberg to be away from "the terrible bombing" at the time. She has a son.

The Gemeinde—her last station in life

She first came into contact with the Altbuddhistische Gemeinde through the German Vegetarian Union in which she was an honorary worker. One of George Grimm's books, *Happiness—the Message of the Buddha*, and the expositions in *Yāna*, impressed her and convinced her of the truth of Suffering. She established contact with Grimm's daughter, Mrs. Keller-Grimm, and at the latter's invitation went to Utting am Ammersee where she spent four months studying the Dhamma from Grimm's books.

In writing about her impressions of her first visit to Utting am Ammersee in 1949 she states: "When I first came here I was overwhelmed with tears. I knew during the first few days of my stay at the Altbuddhistische Gemeinde that this would be my last station in life. I was yet a 100 per cent worldling and was likely to lose my way again and to get on the wrong track. But all the time I kept in touch with Sister Maya Keller-Grimm and Max Hoppe and with their help was able to get on my feet and start to follow the Buddha's path."

"My inner and outer difficulties," she continues, "were great, but the paw of the lion had hit me and I managed to overcome them all to such an extent as to be able to study the Pāli canon and all the works of George Grimm which is my greatest joy every day. It would never have been possible for me to go along the Buddha's path had it not been for the good counsel of Sister Maya and Max Hoppe, who untiringly led me along the right way."

"During our regular weekly gatherings on Saturday afternoons and Sunday mornings all these many years Sister Maya and Max Hoppe expounded to me the Buddha's teachings in an extremely lucid manner. The hints and directions they gave me for meditation, coupled with the wonderful example they set, inspired me in no small measure. With their unstinted help and guidance, I gradually opened my eyes to realities of life. The change that has come over me is truly remarkable. From a never-satisfied, death-fearing, vacillating person, I have become a satisfied, fearless, steady, quiet and happy devotee of the Buddha."

Resigned from church over 30 *years ago*

Emily Knothe lives with two other members of the Order in a cottage she built on the premises of the Altbuddhistische Gemeinde. A wealthy member of the institution purchased the first house she built there, and gifted it to the Gemeinde for use as a guest-house.

A great lover of animals, she cares for them most affectionately. Many are the animals she has saved from the slaughterhouse. They roam about happily in her garden, says Mrs. Keller-Grimm.

Emily Knothe hails from a family of Protestant Christians. Her grandmother, who was a pious Church-goer, related Biblical stories to Emily when she was a little girl. She officially resigned from her church more than thirty years ago, and became a seeker after truth.

She has studied Pāli, meditates several hours a day, and belongs to the most faithful group of workers of the Altbuddhistische Gemeinde. She does English and German translations for the institution, besides attending to many other duties.

SIGURD SCHOENWERTH

Dr. Sigurd Schoenwerth was a surgeon in the German army throughout World War II. In the course of his work he saw great human suffering and despair which made him ponder over it often. Despite the hardness of heart he had acquired in his training as a surgeon, the gruesome sights he beheld shocked him immensely. He had never thought that human beings could bear up so much pain and misery. Towards the end of the war, a fellow worker at the military hospital lent him a remarkable book entitled *Die Wissenschaft des Buddhismus* (Science of Buddhism) by George Grimm. He thus became acquainted for the first time with the Buddha's teachings and the impression that it made upon him was so strong that it became the turning point of his life.

Immediately after the war, he became a member of the Altbuddhistische Gemeinde, Utting. The founder of the institution, George Grimm, had then died. Today the Altbuddhistische Gemeinde House George Grimm is the home of Dr. and Mrs. Schoenwerth. He looks after the health of the inmates of the House, assisted by his wife, besides living the Buddhist way of life.

Leaders and teachers of the Community

A short time after he had joined the Altbuddhistische Gemeinde, he had to leave for the Argentine, where he spent fifteen years on the preventive side of medicine on the invitation of his relatives there. During that long stay there, it was only their knowledge of the teachings of the Buddha that helped him and his wife to live cheerfully. On his return to Germany, he went straightaway to the Altbuddhistische Gemeinde. "It is my great good fortune that my wife, out of her own conviction, is also treading the Noble Eightfold Path," he says. "The daughter of George Grimm, Mrs. Maya Keller-Grimm, and Max Hoppe, his great disciple, are the leaders and teachers of the Community. They belong to the small group of persons who have not only grasped the teachings of the Buddha to the very core, but are also living in accordance with the Dhamma. The clear, decidedly spiritual radiation of these two persons deeply impresses every religiously inclined person and seeker after truth. There are many clever Buddhists, but only a few of them are as wise as these two persons."

The son of a well-known surgeon, Sigurd Schoenwerth was born in Munich on 9 October, 1908. His wife, Hannah, (nee Gottschau), was born on 3 August, 1910, in Bonn. They were married in 1936. There are four children of the marriage, two boys and two girls, aged between 25 and 32 years. All of them are Buddhists, two of them being particularly devoted to the religion.

Schoenwerth passed his medical examinations in 1932 and 1935 in Munich. He specialized in surgery and diseases of the liver. During the entire period of the Second World War, he was an army surgeon, serving in France and Russia. While in Argentine after the war he was also a consultant to pharmaceutical factories there. On his return to Germany, he secured an appointment as medical officer to one of Siemens' factories. He proposes to retire shortly from this post.

He is a keen student of Pāli and writes regularly on various Buddhist themes for *Yāna*, the bi-monthly magazine conducted by the Altbuddhistische Gemeinde. Upon his retirement, he proposes to devote all his time to the practice and dissemination of the Dhamma.

NYĀNATILOKA MAHĀ THERA

Of all Western Bhikkhus, the best known and most successful was the ven. Nyānatiloka Mahā Thera, who spent in Ceylon 54 years of his life of 80. By his scrupulous observance of the rules of the Code of Discipline and his serene deportment he so endeared himself to the Buddhists of Ceylon that upon his death the government accorded him a state funeral, a very rare honour indeed. Half a million men, women and children attended it.

His lay name, which very few know, was Anton Walter Florus Gueth. Born in Wiesbaden, Germany on 19 February, 1878, he was the son of Professor A. Gueth. After his college education, he studied music and musical composition at conservatoires in Frankfurt and Paris. He encountered Buddhism in Frankfurt, and was drawn to the East. He accepted an engagement as a violinist, which brought him via Turkey and Egypt to India. From there he crossed over to Ceylon, and, after a short stay, went to Burma, where he was ordained a Buddhist monk in 1903.

Back in Ceylon in 1905, Nyānatiloka, the first German to enter the Order at a time when Germany was much admired in the East, was received with the highest respect by the Buddhists. In 1911 he selected for his hermitage a small island in Dodanduwa lake on the south-west coast of Ceylon. The island was then uninhabited because it was infested by poisonous snakes. There he lived all alone, practising meditation day and night. He was quite unaffected by the presence of snakes all around him, and no snake ever harmed him. The Buddhists of the townlet of Dodanduwa conveyed alms to him by boat every morning and offered it with the utmost reverence. They built him a tiny cottage to protect him from sun and rain.

Thousands flock to Hermitage each month

A few other Westerners joined the Order under him later, and the hermitage rapidly gained a high reputation as the abode of pious European monks. Buddhists from all parts of Ceylon began to flock there by the thousands on full moon days. Men and women vied with each other to offer alms to the monks. There was such a scramble that it became necessary to assign days and times to those seeking to offer alms. This system obtains there to the present day.

Nyānatiloka Mahā Thera's first book, *The Word of the Buddha*, made him famous. First published in 1906, it has since appeared in nine languages, comprising three German and twelve English editions, some of these numbering 10,000 copies. *The Guide Through The Abhidharma Piṭaka, The Path to Deliverance, Fundamentals of Buddhism, and Buddhist Dictionary* are the best known of his English works. To the Germans, Nyānatiloka is well known for the above books in German and for his translations of the *Visuddhimagga, Anguttara-nikāya, Milindapañho, Puggalapannatti* and other works. Among his early writings for the Germans are a Pāli grammar, Pāli Anthology, and a Pāli dictionary.

Since 1905, Nyānatiloka had been a regular contributor to the periodicals, *der Buddhist, Die Buddhistische Welt* and *Die Buddhistische Warte* founded and edited by Dr. Karl Seidenstucker. Nyānatiloka was a great inspiration to early students of Buddhism in Germany. His expositions were forceful and lucid.

Founder of several seats of learning

Nyānatiloka Mahā Thera ordained two generations of Bhikkhus and founded several seats of learning and meditation. Among his bhikkhu-pupils were Germans, Britons, Frenchmen, Americans, Dutchmen, Italians, and Jews. One of his earliest pupils was Vappa Mahā Thera (Ludwig Stolz) who was born in 1875, ordained in 1910, and died in 1960. He lived mainly a contemplative life. He was the author of *Four Buddhist Essays* and an essay on "Earnestness". He remained longest in the Order. Another was Sumana Samanera (a novice) who published an essay under the title *Going Forth*. He died young.

At the invitation of the Government of Burma, Nyānatiloka Mahā Thera went to Burma in 1951 in connexion with the preparation for the Sixth Buddhist Council held in Rangoon, the opening session of which he attended.

Nyānatiloka and his German pupils were interned in Ceylon, and later in India, during the two World Wars. With the end of the wars, they returned to Ceylon. In 1950, the government of Ceylon made Nyānatiloka a distinguished citizen.

He died on 28 May, 1957, and his remains were cremated in Independence Square with full honours. His last wish was to be reborn in Ceylon and to be a monk.

NYĀNAPONIKA MAHĀ THERA

A pupil of Nyānatiloka Mahā Thera, the ven. Nyānaponika Mahā Thera is the head of the Forest Hermitage, Kandy, Ceylon, and an outstanding Pāli and Sanskrit scholar. He is the author of several original works both in English and German, and translator of Buddhist texts. Like his teacher, Nyānatiloka, he is also a distinguished citizen of Ceylon.

Born of Jewish parents in Hanau am Main, Germany, on 29 July, 1901, Nyānaponika's lay name was Siegmund Feniger. He made his first acquaintance with Buddhism in his late teens by reading Buddhist books while living in Upper Silesia. Finally he became a Buddhist by conviction. But it was only in 1922, when he and his parents moved to Berlin, that he came in contact with other German Buddhists for the first time. Later, when living in Koenigsberg in East Prussia he formed a Buddhist Study Circle and established a free lending library.

Nyānatiloka accepted him as a candidate for ordination, and he came to Ceylon in February, 1936. He received ordination as a monk at the Island Hermitage, Dodanduwa, in 1936, and the higher ordination the next year. In 1951 he accompanied Nyānatiloka Mahā Thera to Burma for the Sixth Buddhist Council. Both of them attended the solemn opening ceremony of the Council on Vesak day in 1956. As Nyānatiloka was sick, Nyānaponika alone attended the concluding session of the Council in 1956, marking the 2500-year Buddha Jayanti. He was a delegate at the conferences of the World Fellowship of Buddhists in Rangoon, Bangkok and Phnom Penh, and was elected one of the Vice-presidents of the organization for a term. He has been in charge of the Forest Hermitage, Kandy, since 1952.

In 1958, he founded, with the co-operation of two Sinhala lay Buddhists, the Buddhist Publication Society in Kandy. He is the editor of the Society's publications and its President. So far, a million copies of books and booklets covering all aspects of Buddhism, including carefully selected and edited translations of Pāli texts, have been distributed in 70 countries. Nyānaponika himself is the author of many of these publications. The work of the society continues to expand.

His publications in English include *The Heart of Buddhist Meditation,*[1] and *Abhidhamma Studies*, and in German *Sattipatthana, Sutta-nipāta*, and *Dhammasaṅganī* and translations of some *Nikāyas*.

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[1] Rider & Co.

NYĀNASATTA MAHĀ THERA

"I received Buddhism as a Christmas present 21 years ago," wrote the ven. Nyānasatta Mahā Thera in 1957. "A few days before Christmas in 1935, I received from Germany a little packet of printed matter and a letter informing me to open that parcel only on December 25, for it ought to be viewed in the festive atmosphere of peace. I did accordingly and found essays on Pāli Buddhism, printed lectures, cyclostyled summaries of talks on Buddhism, pages torn out of books, and passages copied from books on Buddhism. The sender of this first introduction to Pāli Buddhism that changed my whole outlook on life was my wife at that time, who went to Potsdam to see her aunt and to stay for some time in Germany perhaps never to return to Czechoslovakia.

"The first sight that attracted her attention after her return home from three and a half years of married life in Czechoslovakia were posters announcing a series of lectures on Buddhism in Berlin. She went to hear the first talk, and as soon as she saw the German Buddhist lecturer and heard his first words, there passed through her mind the thought that her husband would one day become a Bhikkhu and lecture to audiences all over the world instead of belonging to her.

"She listened to all the lectures, asked the lecturer for printed texts of his present and past lectures, visited the Buddhist House of Dr. Paul Dahlke at Berlin Frohnau, bought a number of books and reviews, borrowed books and read them. Three months later she sent me as a present writings by Buddhists on the Dhamma. Two years later, when I decided to become a Bhikkhu in Ceylon, she became a Buddhist nun in Berlin, where a centre of study had several persons devoted to the life of studying, living and teaching Buddhism in Germany.

Exponent of Dhamma in three languages

"After my arrival at the Island Hermitage, Dodanduwa, Ceylon, in March, 1938, I found there Bhikkhus of many lands of the West, and I found that this stream of fresh students of the Dhamma in the East had started already at the close of the 19th century, for already in 1905 a British Bhikkhu called Aśoka died at Akyab in Burma after several years of living the life of a Bhikkhu in Ceylon and in Burma."[1]

The ven. Nyānasatta Mahā Thera is the head of the Verdant Hermitage, Bandarawela, Ceylon. He is a Pāli scholar, a prolific writer, an author of several original works, a translator of Pāli texts, and a brilliant exponent of the Dhamma in German, English, and Sinhala.

His lay name was M. Novosad. He was born on 25 January, 1908, in South Moravia of the ancient Greater Austria, a part of which became after 1918 a part of Czechoslovakia. He was a language master in a secondary school and had special qualifications in Esperanto. He began the study of Pāli and Buddhism in 1935. He left Prague and arrived in the Island Hermitage, Dodanduwa, Ceylon, on 15 March, 1938, where Nyānatiloka Mahā Thera ordained him two months later.

Since December, 1940, he has been incumbent of the Verdant Hermitage, Bandarawela. He divides his time between study, meditation, writing, teaching, giving radio talks and sermons in Sinhala and English. He is the first Western Bhikkhu to speak fluently in literary Sinhala. His best known work is *The Basic Tenets of Buddhism*.[2]

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1. *The Buddhist*, Buddha Jayanti Number, Ceylon.
2. Semage & Co., Colombo.

FRITZ HUNGERLEIDER

An avowed Buddhist for the past 28 years, Fritz Hungerleider is the President of the Buddhist Society (Buddhistische Gesellschaft) of Vienna.

The Society is comparatively a young one. It was founded in 1949. The founder-president of the Society, Dr. Oprachal, died in 1955. Hungerleider succeeded him and continues in office. The membership of the society is only 120. "But one has to consider that we are living in a strict Roman Catholic country," he says. There are, however, many, many sympathisers for each one of those who dare to declare openly to be Buddhists.

The Society does not belong to any particular Buddhist sect. Among the members are Theravādins, Mahāyānists, believers in Vajrayāna and Zen. They all join in observing the *uposatha* and in offering *pūjā*. The Society meets every Thursday. Lectures are given regularly on Pāli and Chinese Tipiṭaka and Tibetan *Kanjur* and *Tanjur* as well as on the history of Buddhism, philosophy, psychology, and Buddhist art. Meditation, in particular the Burmese *Satipatthana* method, is practised by members.

Apart from his work for the Society, Hungerleider regularly conducts seminars on Buddhism at the Haus der Stille (House of Stillness) at Roseberg near Hamburg. He also conducts courses on Buddhism at the Folks High School for adult education in Vienna.

Hungerleider was born in 1920 in Vienna. In 1960 he sold his business in order to devote his entire life to the practice and propagation of Buddhism. He visited Ceylon in 1938 and proceeded to China, where he spent nine years. He again visited Ceylon in 1958 and studied the *Satipatthana* method of meditation. He has travelled widely in Buddhist countries such as Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, and Japan. He spent two years in the Universities of Ryokoku and Otani and practised Zen meditation. In 1966 he gave a series of lectures on Buddhism in Buenos Aires. Later, he lectured before the University of Ibadan, Nigeria. On his return to Vienna, he began a tour, giving some 240 lectures on Buddhism. He published in Hamburg a work under the title *Three Modern Sermons*. He has also lectured on Buddhism in the United States, Northern Italy, Peru, and Chile.

MAX WALLESER

Max Walleser, the founder of the *Institut Fur Buddhismus Kunde* (the Institution for the Knowledge of Buddhism), where he trained a large number of Indian and Japanese students, besides Germans, was one of the outstanding scholars of Pāli Buddhism. He edited for the Pāli Text Society, London, in 1924, the first volume of *Manorathapūraṇī*, the commentary on the *Aṅguttaranikāya*. He was an author, among others, of *Die Buddhistische Philosophie in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklund* (The Buddhist Philosophy in its Historic Development) which includes translations from Tibetan and Chinese, and *Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus* (The Sects of Ancient Buddhism). He translated from Sanskrit the *Vajracchedikā* and parts of the *Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramit* (1913) under the title *Die Vookommenheit der Erkenntnis* (The Perfectness of Comprehension). He founded in 1928 his famous Walleser Institute of Buddhism in Heidelberg and brought out some 21 books on Buddhism.

Born in Heidelberg in 1874, Walleser was educated at the Universities of Heidelberg and Freiburg. He obtained his doctorate with a thesis on the Problem of the I. He died in 1954.

SISTER UPPALAVANNA

Forty years ago a German woman, attracted by Buddhism, visited Ceylon, where she now lives as a Buddhist Sister, setting an example to the women of the country of her adoption. She is known as Sister Uppalavanna. (Uppalavanna was the name of one of the two chief women disciples of the Buddha.) She is today 80 years of age, but still vital and, vigorous and brimming with zest and enthusiasm. For the past 20 years she has been living in a two-roomed hermitage near Gampola, in the hill-country of Ceylon.

Before she came to Ceylon as a disciple of the late ven. Nyānatiloka Mahā Thera, the first German Buddhist monk, she was Fraulein Else Buchholz and lived in a fashionable quarter of Berlin. She was a musician, and came from a prosperous middle-class family. She hardly talks about her home in Germany, nor does she care to talk much about her life after she came to Ceylon. Few people know her; but she may be seen going long distances on foot to receive alms on invitation. She lives alone because she loves solitude; but she is not really alone for there are some two dozen dogs in her compound, dogs which as puppies were left on her door-step by villagers who wanted to get rid of them. Whatever alms she receives she gives to the dogs, keeping a morsel for herself.

She cheerfully endures the hardships of her chosen life. Occasionally, when invited to an alms-giving in Nuwara Eliya, which is over 6000 feet above sea-level, she trudges there across hills and dales. On her way back home at night during one of these trips she met a leopard on the road, but had no fear, for she believes that the harmlessness of mind she has acquired as a result of long and intensive meditation is a sure protection against such dangers.

FRIEDRICH SPIEGEL

Friedrich Spiegel was among the first editors and translators of Pāli texts. His *Anecdota Palica* was printed in 1845. It contains in "Devanāgari" script the Pāli text of the *Uraga Sutta* with extracts from the commentary, as well as an extract from the Rasavāhini, a collection of stories written in Ceylon.[1]

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[1] Reproduced from *German Buddhist Writers*—a Wheel publication by Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy, Ceylon.

ALBRECHT WEBER

Albrecht Weber made the first translation of the Pāli *Dhammapada* in a living Western language—German. It was published under the title *Zeitschrift der Morgenlandischen Gesellschft* in Leipzig in 1860. He published numerous papers, books, and translations in the field of indology.[1]

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[1] Reproduced from *German Buddhist Writers*—a Wheel publication of the Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy, Ceylon.

KURT SCIMIDT

Kurt Scimidt was born in Berlin in 1879. He obtained his LL.D. in 1901 from the University of Rostock. He first went into journalism and became an editor. Thereafter he engaged himself in Buddhist studies. He was a Pāli, Sanskrit, and Chinese scholar. Apart from numerous essays, he published several books on Buddhism. Among these were introductions to the doctrine, biographies of Buddhist saints, two anthologies from the Pāli scriptures, a popular Pāli grammar, and a condensed translation of the *Majjhima Nikāya*.[1]

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[1] Reproduced from *German Buddhist Writers*—a Wheel publication of the Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy, Ceylon.

MARTIN STEINKE

Martin Steinke was born in 1882. He founded in 1922 the Gemeinde um Buddha (Fellowship around the Buddha) which published a periodical up to 1932. He was engaged in lecturing and conducting courses in Buddhism, and in 1933 received Mahāyāna ordination in China under the name of Tao Chuen. Among his works is *Das Lebensgesetz* (The Law of Life) published in 1962.[1]

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[1] Reproduced from *German Buddhist Writers*—a Wheel publication of the Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy, Ceylon.

KURT FISCHER

Friend and secretary of Dr. Paul Dahlke, Kurt Fischer was born in 1892 and died in 1942. After the death of Dahlke he continued lecturing, teaching and conducting the *Uposatha* celebrations. He edited a Buddhist quarterly, *Buddhistisches Leben und Denken* (*Buddhist Life and Thought*) (1930-1942).[1]

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[1] Reproduced from *German Buddhist Writers*—a Wheel publication of the Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy, Ceylon.

MAX LADNER

Max Ladner was born in 1890 and died in 1963. He was the editor of *Die Einsicht* which became the leading Theravāda monthly for all German-speaking countries. He wrote two important books : *Wirklichkeit und Erloesung*, '*Existence and Deliverance*' and *Gotama Buddha.* He was a writer of great literary charm combined with profound philosophical acumen.[1]

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[1] Reproduced from *German Buddhist Writers*—a Wheel publication of the Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy, Ceyl on.

LIONEL STUETZER

Lionel Stuetzer was born in 1901, and joined the *Fellowship around Buddha* in 1922. At the end of World War II during which all Buddhist societies were prohibited from functioning by the Nazi regime, he founded in 1946 the *Buddhistische Gemeinde* (Buddhist Community) in Berlin which continues to date. In 1952 he was initiated into the Western branch of the Order *Ariya-Maitreya-Maṇḍala*. He lectures extensively to both groups.[1]

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[1] Reproduced from *German Buddhist Writers*—a Wheel publication of the Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy, Ceylon.

ANTON KROPATSCH

Dr. Anton Kropatsch was born in 1897. He was a famous dermatologist. He was retired chief physician of the Leprosy Hospital, Vienna. Apart from medical works, he wrote numerous Buddhist essays in *Indische Welt*, *The Mahā Bodhi*, and other publications. He published books in German : *Die Letzte Freiheit des Menschen* (Man's Last Freedom; on Anattā), 1957. *Wiedergeburt und Erloesung in der Lehre des Buddha*. (Rebirth and Deliverance in the Buddha's Doctrine) 1903.[1]

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[1] Reproduced from *German Buddhist Writers*—a Wheel publication of the Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy, Ceylon.

PAUL DEBES

. Paul Debes was born in 1906. He was a widely known lecturer and writer in the northern parts of West Germany. He wrote *Das Dasein und seine Meisterung nach der Lehre des Buddha* (1963) (The Analysis of Human Existence according to the Doctrine of the Buddha). Paul Debes has been conducting Seminars for beginners and advanced students of the Buddha-Dhamma. He is the founder of *Buddhistische Seminar fur Seinskunde*, situated near Hamburg, which issues a monthly magazine, *Wissen und Wandel* (Knowledge and Conduct.)[1]

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[1] Reproduced from *German Buddhist Writers*—a Wheel publication of the Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy, Ceylon.

HELMUTH HECKER

Dr. Helmuth Hecker was born in 1923. He is an international jurist and Buddhist scholar. He wrote numerous scholarly articles for the magazine *Die Einsicht*, and published *Die Ethik des Buddha* (Buddhist Ethics).[1]

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[1] Reproduced from *German Buddhist Writers*—a Wheel publication of the Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy, Ceylon.

HERMANN KOPP

Dr. Hermann Kopp is yet another noteworthy modern Buddhist scholar. He studied Protestant theology, Sanskrit and Pāli at the University of Heidelberg (Sanskrit under Heinrich Zimmer and Pāli under Max Walleser), and continued his Sanskrit and Pāli studies at the University of Leipzig from 1922 to 1927. He was Research Fellow at Max Walleser's Institute of Buddhism from 1930 to 1934. His post-graduate studies were done under Heinrich Zimmer, Hermann Guentert, and Karl Jaspers, and he received his doctorate in 1935.

From 1936 to 1939 and after World War II till 1953 he was on the editing staff of the Pāli Text Society, London, in addition to his duties as textual critic, lexicographer, and translator. He was Director of the Institute of Buddhism from 1954 to 1958, giving courses in Sanskrit and Pāli. From 1959 to 1964 he was full-time redactor of the Academy of Sciences and Literature, Mainz, and of the Royal Academy of Sciences and Letters, Copenhagen. Since 1964 he has been Associate Research Scholar, South East Asia Institute of the University of Heidelberg.

Dr. Kopp has assisted in the compilation of the Critical Pāli Dictionary, Denmark, and has made translations from English and French into German. He has a large number of books to his credit.

LAMA GOVINDA

German-born Lama Govinda is a well-known Buddhist worker of both the East and the West. He has travelled widely in the East, particularly in Tibet where he studied Tibetan Buddhism while residing in a Tibetan Buddhist monastery. Lama Govinda has assisted various Buddhist organizations in Europe. He is a noted Buddhist scholar and is the author of an outstanding work, *Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism*.

CHAPTER IV

FRANCE

> " The Christian can admire without hesitation the many human beauties that Buddhism brings to light."[1]
>
> —Rene Grousset

The credit for beginning the systematic and scientific study of Buddhism in the West goes to France.

Pāli was hardly known in the West until 1826 when Eugene Burnouf, the great French orientalist, who may be described as the Father of Buddhist studies in Europe, published his scholarly pioneer work, *Essai sur le Pāli*, which was written in collaboration with the German orientalist, Christian Lassen. Burnouf did not, however, pursue Pāli Buddhist studies, but concentrated his attention on Sanskrit Mahāyāna Buddhism. He worked on material collected in Nepal early in the 19th century by B. H. Hodgson, the then British Resident-General there. This material had been distributed to various libraries in India and Europe. The best known work of Burnouf in Sanskrit Buddhism was *L'Introduction a l'Historie du Bouddhisme Indien* (1844) which he dedicated to Hodgson, describing him as the "true founder of the study of Indian Buddhism". Another notable work of his was the translation into French of the well-known Mahāyāna Sanskrit *sūtra* called the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* (1852).

After his death the work he initiated was continued in Paris by further researches into and translations of original Sanskrit texts. The foremost worker in this field was Sylvain Levi, who discovered rare Sanskrit Mahāyāna texts and translated them into French. His numerous works opened up new fields of research in Buddhist philosophy and history. Dr. Walpola Rahula of Sorbonne, the Ceylon scholar-monk, says that the "tradition initiated by Burnouf and Levi is most successfully continued today by a brilliant pupilary succession: Paul Demieville, Louis Renou, Jean Filliozat, Olivier Lacombe, Armand Minard, Andre Bareau and others, though some of them are not exclusively Buddhalogists."[2]

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[1] Quoted in *Mind Unshaken* by John Walters—Rider & Co.

Senart's notable edition of Mahāvastu

Emil Senart (1847-1928) was a leading luminary in the firmament of Buddhist scholarship. Although he was one of the five original members of the committee of the Pāli Text Society, London, he did not engage himself in Pāli Buddhism, but concentrated on the Sanskrit Mahāyāna. His most notable contribution was a great edition of the *Mahāvastu*, including valuable survey of its contents and important comments (3 vols. 1902-1908). He was also a keen student of Buddhist art and was the author of a remarkable work on the subject.

The greatest French student of Buddhist art was A. Foucher. He wrote as many as seven books on the subject. His first work, published in Paris in 1896, was *les scenes figureers de la legende de Bouddha.* He published in two volumes in 1905 a work on Gandhara art entitled *L'art greco-bouddhique du Gandhara.* His last work *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art and other essays* was published in London in 1917.

F. E. Foucaux was a noted Mahāyāna scholar, among whose publications was a French translation of the *Lalitavistara* from the Tibetan version (2 Vols. 1884-1892).

Of the French Pāli scholars, Leon Feer was outstanding. Not only did he edit Buddhist texts for the Pāli Text Society, London, but he also translated into French the *Avadāna-śataka* in 1891 and the *Analysis of the Kanjur* by de Koros in 1881.

The *Dhammapada*, the popular Buddhist text of the Pāli canon, was rendered into French by Fernando Hue (1878) and by R. and M. de Maratray (1931). The *Milinda-pañho*, the important non-canonical Pāli work, was rendered into French by L. Finot in 1923.

Since the publication of the Cambodian version of the Pāli canon the first fasciculus of a new edition was published in 1949 with a translation in French by J. Bloch, Jean Filliozat, and L. Renou.

Frence inaugurated the study of Chinese Buddhism with the translation of such works as the Mongol version of Kasyapa Mataṅga's *Sūtra of 42 sections* by Gabet and Hue in 1848, and of the Chinese version of a lost Sanskrit collection of the *Avadānas* by Stanislas Julien (3 Vols. 1859).

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[2] Address at South-Western University, USA, 1965.

Epoch-making translation of Abhidharma-kośa

The Belgian tradition of Buddhist scholarship is generally considered part of the French School. The famous Belgian professor, Louis de la Vallee Poussin, was a pupil of Sylvain Levi at the Sorbonne. Poussin's "epoch-making translation (1928-1931) of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharma-kośa* is singled out as it is almost an encyclopaedia, not only of Sarvāstivāda, but also of Buddhist philosophy in general."[3] Poussin's "tradition is excellently continued today by his pupil and worthy successor, Etienne Lamotte, whose voluminous contributions are universally esteemed and appreciated."[4]

Lamotte's work includes a French translation with copious notes (1944-1949) of *Nagārjuna's* commentary on *Mahāprajñā-pāramitā-śāstra* which has been described as a kind of encyclopaedia of Buddhist India in the first centuries of the Christian era. He has also published an edition after the Tibetan and Chinese versions as well as a French translation with notes of *Asaṅga's Mahāyāna-saṅgraha.*

The Mahāyāna work entitled *Sūtrālaṅkāra* was translated into French after the Chinese version of *Kumārajīva* by E. Huber in 1908.

Mademoiselle Marcelle Lalou has edited and published in Paris the *Bibiliographie Bouddhique* in thirty-one volumes. It outlines the vast amount of work done in the field of Buddhist studies in the West in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Les Amis du Bouddhisme (The French Buddhist Society), started in 1929 by Miss Constant Lounsbery, an American, unfortunately ceased to exist in December 1969. It followed the Theravāda doctrines, perhaps because its founder Miss Lounsbery was a Theravādin. She was the herald of the Theravāda in France. A hospital nurse by profession, she saw much suffering which directed her thoughts to Buddhism. She made a deep study of Pāli Buddhism, practised meditation several hours a day and disseminated the Dhamma by means of talks, lectures, articles and books. Of her numerous writings, the best known is *Buddhist Meditation*. Since its inception, meditation occupied a prominent place in the society's activities. The society published a quarterly, *La Pensee Bouddhique*.

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[3] Dr. Walpola Rahula in his address at South-Western University, USA, 1965.

[4] Ibid.

A world authority on Tibetan Buddhism

Mme. Alexandra David-Neel was probably the most famous French Buddhist. She lived in Tibet for a long period. She dressed herself like a Tibetan woman, ate Tibetan food, and generally led the life of a Tibetan. Her numerous works on Tibetan Buddhism made her a world authority on the subject. She died in 1970 at the age of 100 years.

One of the latest French contributions to Buddhism is a book entitled *Buddha and Buddhism*. Its author, Maurice Percheron, in stressing the likenesses between the Buddha's doctrines and the theories of modern physics, states that "now we see physics joining Buddhism in its theory of universal flux, of lack of substance inherent in matter, of impermanence, of fundamental error attaching to the senses and consequently of doubt over the validity of man's speculations."

A French surgeon, Dr. Hubert Benoit, has written a thought-provoking book under the title *The Supreme Doctrine*, a psychological study of Zen Buddhism. First published in France in 1951. it was translated into English and published in England in 1955, Benoit practised general surgery in France from 1936 to 1944, and was at St. Lo during the intensive bombing in June 1944. He was severely wounded, and, after many years of treatment, was forced to abandon surgery. He has since been practising as a psycho-analyst.

In his Foreword to the book, Aldous Huxley states : "Dr. Benoit has discussed the 'supreme doctrine' of Zen Buddhism in the light of Western psychological theory and Western psychiatric practice—and in the process he has offered a searching criticism of Western psychology and Western psychotheraphy as they appear in the light of Zen. This is a book that should be read by everyone who aspires to know who he is and what he can do to acquire such self-knowledge."

There is no dearth of books and periodicals on Buddhism in France. Great educational institutions such as the Sorbonne spend large sums of money on Buddhist research. The impact of Buddhist thought on Catholic France, despite the many contributions made by eminent French scholars, has been slight. It is left to be seen whether the French would embrace Buddhism, in as appreciable numbers as the Germans, under the influence of Ceylon-born Dr. Walpola Rahula, who is engaged in Buddhist research at the Sorbonne.

EUGENE BURNOUF

Born in 1801 in Paris, Eugene Burnouf took a keen interest in the study of oriental languages early in life. That was a long time before Sorbonne developed into the University of Paris. He studied at the College de France, where he subsequently became a lecturer. Max Muller and R. Roth were among his pupils there.

Burnouf was the first to make Pāli, one of the languages of Theravāda Buddhism, known in Europe. It was hardly known outside Ceylon and other Theravāda Buddhist countries in the East until 1826, when Burnouf in collaboration with Christian Lassen, the German orientalist, brought out his pioneer scholarly work, *Essai sur le Pāli.* In 1827 he published his *Observations grammaticales sur quelques passages de Pessai sur le Pāli.* Thereafter he did not pursue Pāli studies, but deciphered the Zen manuscripts brought to France by Anqyetil-Duperron. From 1833 to 1835 he published his *Commentaire sur le Yacna, Pundes des livres liturgiques des Parses.* He also published in three folio volumes (1840-1847) the Sanskrit text and French translation of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa on historie poetique de Krichna.*

His last works, before his untimely death in 1852, were *L'Introduction a l'Histoire duBouddhisme Indien* (1844) and a French translation of the well-known Mahāyāna Sanskrit text called the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* which was published under the title *Le lotus de la bonne loi* (1852). The former "contained an excellent survey of Buddhist literature and threw light on the relations between the Pāli and Sanskrit traditions."[1] He translated into French long passages of the *Divyāvadāna,* the *Karaṇḍavyūha,* the *Vijrasūcī,* and wrote the first notes on the *Prajñāpāramitās,* the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra,* and other extant literature.

'*Nirvāṇa is the absolute nothing*'

Burnouf held the view that Nirvāṇa is absolute nothing. Max Mūller States : "No person who reads with attention the metaphysical speculations on Nirvāṇa contained in the Buddhist canon can arrive at any conviction different from that expressed by Burnouf, viz. that Nirvāṇa, the highest aim, the summum bonum of Buddhism, is the absolute nothing."

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[1] 2500 *Years of Buddhism,* India, 1956.

Burnouf adds, however, that this doctrine, in its crude form, appears only in the third part of the canon, the so called Abhidharma, but not in the first and second parts, the Sūtras, the sermons, and the Vinaya, the ethics, which together bear the name of Dharma or Law. He next points out that, according to some ancient authorities, this entire part of the canon was designated as 'not pronounced by the Buddha. These are, at once, two important limitations. I add a third, and maintain that the sayings of the Buddha occur in the first and second parts of the canon, which are in open contradiction to this metaphysical nihilism....Nirvāṇa may mean the extinction of many things—of selfishness, desire and sin without going so far as the extinction of being and self-consciousness. Further, if we consider that the Buddha himself, after he had already seen Nirvāṇa, still remains on earth until his body falls a prey to death, that the Buddha appears, in the legends, to his disciples even after his death, it seems to me that all these circumstances are hardly reconcilable with the orthodox metaphysical doctrine of Nirvāṇa.

Earnestness and thoughtlessness

"What does it mean when the Buddha calls earnestness the path of immortality, and thoughtlessness the path of death? Buddhaghoṣa, a learned man of the fifth century, here explains immortality by Nirvāṇa, and that this was also the Buddha's thought is clearly established by a passage following immediately after: 'These wise people, meditative, steady, always possessed of strong powers, attain to Nirvāṇa, the highest happiness.' Can this be annihilation? And would such expressions have been used by the founder of this new religion, if what he called immortality had, in his own idea, been annihilation?

"Nirvāṇa occurs even in the purely moral sense of quietness and absence of passion. 'When a man bears everything without uttering a sound,' says the Buddha' 'he has attained Nirvāṇa.' Quiet long-suffering he calls the highest Nirvāṇa; he who has conquered passion and hatred is said to enter into Nirvāṇa.

"In other passages, Nirvāṇa is described as the result of just knowledge. Thus we read: 'Hunger or desire is the worst of diseases, the body the greatest of pains; if one knows this truly, that is Nirvāṇa, the highest happiness.'

"When it is said in one passage that rest (Śānti) is the highest bliss, it is said in another that Nirvāṇa is the highest bliss."

The Buddha says: 'The sages who injure nobody, and who always control their body, will go to the unchangeable place (Nirvāṇa), where, if they have gone, they will suffer no more.'

"Nirvāṇa is called the quiet place, the immortal place, even simply that which is immortal; and the expression occurs, that the wise dive into this immortal. As, according to the Buddha, everything that was made, everything that was put together, passes away again, and resolves itself into its component parts, he calls in contradiction that which is not made, i.e., the uncreated and eternal, Nirvāṇa, he says : 'When you have understood the destruction of all that was made, you will understand that which was not made.' Whence it appears that even for him a certain something exists, which is not made, which is eternal and imperishable.

Sayings firmly fixed in tradition

"On considering such sayings, to which many more might be added, one recognizes in them a conception of Nirvāṇa, altogether irreconcilable with the nihilism of the third part of the Buddhist canon. The question in such matters is not a more or less, but an out-out. If these sayings have maintained themselves in spite of their contradiction to orthodox metaphysics, the only explanation, in my opinion, is that they were firmly fixed in the tradition which went back to the Buddha and his disciples."

"Only in the hands of philosophers, to whom Buddhism owes its metaphysics, the Nirvāṇa, through constant negations, carried to an indefinite degree, through the excluding and abstracting of all that is not Nirvāṇa, at last became an empty Nothing, a philosophical myth..."

"....Either we must bring ourselves to believe that the Buddha taught his disciples two diametrically opposed doctrines on Nirvāṇa, say, an exoteric and esoteric one, or we must allow *that* view of Nirvāṇa to have been the original view of the founder of this marvellous religion which corresponds best with the simple, clear, and practical character of the Buddha."[1]

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[1] Max Müller's *Selected Essays*, Vol. 2, London, 1881 His quotations are from the *Dhamapada*.

SYLVAIN LEVI

In the field of Sanskrit Buddhist studies, Sylvain Levi had hardly a peer. His service was indeed unique. He had a profound knowledge of Chinese, Tibetan and Kuchean languages, which enabled him to prepare the first critical editions of a number of Mahāyāna texts. In 1892 he published, for the first time, the first chapter of the *Buddhacarita*, and in the same year discovered two Chinese translations of the *Milinda-pañho*. He came to Nepal in 1905, explored its libraries and wrote his famous *Le Nepal*. In 1907 he wrote a critical study of the *Divyāvadāna* and in 1911, published fragments of Buddhist texts in the Kuchean language. In 1812 he published an important work on the *Dhammapada* recensions. About the same time he published the *Ṣaṭpañcāśatika-stotra* and discovered a legend of the *Karuṇā-puṇdarīka* in the Tokharian language. He brought out with Th. Stcherbatsky in 1918 the first *Kośasthāna* of Yaśomitra's *Sphuṭārtha*. and in the following year he discovered the *Nairātmya-pariprecha*. He also discovered the *Mahākarma-vibhaṅga*, a Sanskrit version of the *Cūla-kammavibhaṅga-sutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya*, and published it with its Chinese versions in 1932. During 1929-31 he published with Professor Taksakusu three fascicules of Hobogirin and an encyclopaedic dictionary of Chinese Buddhist terms, which unfortunately remained incomplete on account of the Second World War.[2]

Discovery of text of the Vijñānavāda

Sylvain Levi's greatest discovery was the Sanskrit text of the Vijñānavāda school of Buddhism, while that of the *Mahāyāna sūtrālṅkāra* was a milestone in Mahāyāna studies. His edition of this text, with a French translation and an exposition of *Vijñānavāda*, appeared in 1907. His other major discovery was the twin texts, *Viṁśatikā* and the *Triṁśatikā* and their commentaries which were published in 1925. In 1934 he edited with S. Yamaguchi the *Mādhyantavibhāga-ṭīkā* a systematic exposition of the *Yogācāra-Vijñāpativāda* as contained in Vasubandhu's *Bhāṣya* on the *Mādhyanta-vibhāga-sūtra* of Maitreya. These works illuminated a dark period of Buddhist history and many eminent scholars such as Poussin, Stcherbatsky and others became interested in the study of Yogācāra which was the final phase of Buddhist philosophy in India.[2]

Born in Paris in 1863, Sylvain Levi was educated at the University of Paris. He was appointed a lecturer in 1866 at the School of Higher Studies in Paris. He taught Sanskrit at the school, lectured at the Faculty of Letters from 1889 to 1894, when he was appointed a professor at the College de France. In 1897 and 1898 he made a tour of scientific research in India and Japan, and travelled from 1921 to 1923 in India, Indo-China, Japan, Korea, Siberia and Russia. He became a director of the School of Higher Studies and a member of numerous learned societies. He died in 1935.

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2. 2500 *Years of Buddhism*, India, 1956.

LOUIS DE LA VALLEE POUSSIN

Another great scholar of Mahāyāna Buddhism was Louis de la Valee Poussin, a Belgian by birth but belonging to the French School. Born in 1869, he completed his studies in linguistics at Louvain and began his studies in oriental languages at the Sorbonne as a pupil of Sylvain Levi in 1891. After a few years there, he went to Leyden University to study the *Gāthā* dialect under Hendrik Kern. There he studied Tibetan and Chinese as well, which opened for him a vast field of research. In 1895 he became a professor at the University of Ghent, where he worked for over 30 years and carried on his studies in Buddhism, particularly in Sarvāstivāda. In 1921 he organized the *Societe belge d'Etudes orientales*. Under the title *Bouddhisme: Notes et Bibilographie*, he published learned reviews of new books on oriental subjects. He also directed the editing of *Melanges chinois et bouddhiques*, to which he contributed several valuable articles on the Abhidharma. He wrote some thirty articles on various Buddhist topics for the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. Together with Ph. Colinet he edited and published *Le Museon* in which appeared some of his valuable editions such as the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, the *Mādhyamakāvatāra*, and the *Viṁśika-prakaraṇa* of Vasubandhu. His other notable editions are the *Pañcakrama* (1896), the *Bodhicaryāvatāra-pañjikā* (1901-1905), the *Prasannapadā* of Candrakīrti (1903-1913), and the *Mahānidesa* (1916-1917).[1]

Pioneer in study of the sarvāstivāda

Poussin's greatest works, however, are his translations into French of the *Abhidharma-kośa* of Vasubandhu (1923-1931) and the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* of Yuan Chwang (1930). He was a pioneer in the study of the Sarvāstivāda school of Buddhism. Very little was known about the teachings of this school until Poussin published his epoch-making translation of the *Abhidharma-kośa* and Vasubandhu's *bhāṣya*. He very successfully reconstructed, on the basis of Chinese and Tibetan material, almost the whole of the text of the *Kārikas* of the *Abhidharma-kośa*. The valuable and exhaustive notes with which the work is provided show that in this great scholar there was a unique combination of the linguist, the philosopher and the critic. Poussin opened the vast stores of thought that lay buried in a sealed chamber and so filled the hiatus between the studies of early Pāli works and the late Śūnyavāda doctrines. The publication of this unique work revolutionized Buddhist studies and gave rise to many controversial topics which engaged the attention of some eminent contemporaries such as Mrs. Rhys Davids, Jean Przyluski, and Th. Stcherbatsky. His thought-provoking *Nirvāṇa* (1925) propounded a novel view and brought severe criticism from Th. Stcherbatsky, an eminent orientalist of Russia.[2]

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[1] 2500 *Years of Buddhism*, India, 1956.

Poussin was a Pāli scholar as well. He edited the *Mahāniddesa* for the Pāli Text Society, London. He died in 1939.

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[2] 2500 *Years of Buddhism*, India 1956.

ALEXANDRA DAVID-NEEL

An intrepid French woman with a penchant for high adventure, Mme. Alexandra David-Neel spent a long period in Tibet, acquiring an intimate knowledge of Tibetan Buddhism. She wrote some fifteen books, ten in French and five in German. All of them are translated into English, and some of them into Polish, Swedish, Czech, and Spanish. *Buddhism, its Doctrines and Methods*, *My Journey to Lhasa*, *With Mystics and Magicians*, and *Tibetan Journey* are some of her works. These books are based on firsthand knowledge of Buddhism. She gives vivid details of her hazardous journeys on mule and on foot, "enjoying incredible hardships from climate, civil wars, brigands and privations which ensued thereon." She undertook a perilous six-month journey, she says, because had she remained longer at Kum-bum in her small house "tucked away in the corner of a tiny cloister in the princely palace of Pegyai Tulku, she would have been forced to enter the monastery as a full member, which her sex debarred her from doing." She dressed herself like a Tibetan, ate Tibetan food, and generally led the life of a Tibetan.

An avowed Buddhist, Mme. Alexandra David-Neel wrote an article on *Buddhism and Social Problems* in the July-September 1910 issue of the *Buddhist Review*, London. As her words still have meaning for us, it is reproduced below. The translation is by Francis J. Payne.

What attitude towards social problems?

"Among the questions of a practical nature which we have to face, there is one whose examination forces itself upon us without our being able to put it aside. What attitude are we going to adopt towards the social problems, which are, at this moment, the chief preoccupation of the whole world? It is impossible to be unaware of them, and it is also impossible to dismiss them. Unless we are contented to remain a small closed circle of scholars and dilettanti, finding a refined pleasure in handling the subtle thought of ancient Buddhism, and seeing therein but an intellectual exercise, we shall come into collision with the outside condition of social life. Before us will arise men who will be oppressed not only by mental pain, but by the most commonplace material suffering. What shall we do? Shall we answer them that the doctrine of the Buddha is only made for the wise, that it despises the pain of the flesh, and the tears of those whose horizon does not extend beyond the limits of coarse sensation and earthly longings?

"On the morrow of the day when, for the first time, he has perceived within himself a flickering and pale reflection of the Great Light, stopped at the threshold of the Path, and seeing the enormous intellectual effort necessary to walk therein, there is not a single disciple who has not repeated the words which the *Mahāvagga* ascribes to our Master:

"To this people who are given to desire, intent upon desire, delighting in desire, the law of causality and the chain of causation will be a matter difficult to understand; most difficult for them to understand will be also the extinction of all Sankharas, the getting rid of all the substrata (of existence), the destruction of desire, the absence of passion, quietude of heart, Nirvāṇa . . . This doctrine will not be easy to understand for beings that are lost in lust and hatred. Given to lust, surrounded by thick darkness, they will not see what is abstruse, profound, difficult to perceive and subtle."

"Where the Master hesitated, the disciple may well have a touch of despair.'

"That moment was a decisive one in the history of Buddhist preaching, to live it again individually is one of the most difficult tests that we have to overcome.

Egotism or compassion at misery of our brothers?

"One question confronts us, very distinct, very grave: Shall we imitate the Pharisee of whom the Gospel speaks, and congratulating ourselves in a proud thanksgiving on the superior quality of our brain, attempt to realize an egotistic salvation, turning our eyes away from the miserable mob of mediocre intelligences? Or rather, sincerely grieved and compassionate at the misery of our brothers, but seeing therein no remedy, shall we remain inactive before their suffering? Finally, choosing a third solution, shall we approach suffering, even that which seems to us paltry, even that which appears low or deserved, the puerile suffering of childish minds, that of coarse beings, of the wicked, and strive to conquer them all?

"Two motives will prompt our answer: Can we bring an efficacious help to the multitudes who seek social emancipation and material well-being? Ought we to give it to them?

"Let us consider the first point :

"Amongst the most usual objections urged against Buddhism is this : It is a philosophy for instructed minds. It looks with haughtiness above life, it teaches its vanity and, more than its vanity, the non-reality of its existence. Its language is not within reach of that majority of beings who feel strongly the impression of their personality, who see nothing but that personality, who dream only of it, and who aim only at its material needs and suffer cruelly in all their feelings.

Deliverance....not a gift but an acquisition

"The most thoughtful writers, those who have shown the greatest sympathy for Buddhism, have recognized that nothing in the Buddha's teaching, such as the texts we possess handed down to us, can present him to us as a leader of the masses. That is understood. Although we have to consider that the disdain shown by our Master and the early Buddhists for the distinctions of caste, the foundation of Hindu society—and much more tyrannical in their effects than the present distinctions between capitalists and workers—mark their apostleship with a truly revolutionary character, we shall not try to misrepresent the personality of the Buddha by making him a stirrer of crowds, an apostle of social claims. We have no need of such subterfuges. Neither shall we seek to disavow the saying : 'The doctrine is directed to the intelligent man, not to the fool'. Whoever he may be that pronounced it, we recognize it as quite truly in accord with the Buddhist spirit.

"Deliverance, under whatever particular aspect we regard it, spiritual, moral or social deliverance, deliverance of the individual or of nations, is not a gift but an acquisition, a bitter and laborious acquisition of the intellect. Now what doctrine is better able than Buddhism to guide man towards intelligence ?

"If we have hesitated, a thoughtful examination of Buddhist teaching will give confidence. We are better armed than anyone to approach the victims of our modern communities. We have something better than sentimental manifestations of piety or the problematic compensations of Paradise to offer them, for we possess the sovereign formula of social emancipation and material deliverance purely earthly, as well as that which opens before us the unfathomable horizons of Nirvāṇa.

"When the Buddha proclaimed that the cause of suffering is ignorance, he uttered an eternal truth, a truth infallible on every plane of existence. His voice tells us the way. We may agree that our philosophic discussions, and even the fundamental questions of impersonality and the impermanence of the formations cannot be presented at the first onset to popular audiences, but there is a gospel which we can offer them, and it is this : it can only be destroyed by ourselves : our ignorance, alone, creates it.

"These are not vain declamations, there is nothing more scientific in spirit than this modern *credo*. Nothing in a word which is more capable of a practical result.

Ignorance has permitted subjection

"Sociologists may discuss learnedly the processes of the formation of our contemporary communities, they may point out the causes which have produced the terrible inequality of conditions among the individuals who belong to them, or find fault with the growth of capital or its relation with labour : there is one plain fact above all these considerations : the ignorance of the masses alone has permitted their subjection.

"The wretched masses, in turn a pitiful herd of beasts of burden or unchained brutes, pass through the horrors of sanguinary revolts. They stretch their arms towards the gods who never yet have taken any pity on them, towards men who betray their confidence, towards vague ideals of justice and liberty.... And all in vain, because the irresistible law of things pursues its course, that he who is deceived, he who sees beings and things falsely, shall expiate, by suffering, the unskilfulness of the error.

"Let us teach the people to think, to reason, to become by their mental development, the authors of their own deliverance; let us put into their hearts, not childish enthusiasm and inauspicious venerations, but the worship of Knowledge, the liberator and purifier. Such is the way to intervene in the social problems of our time which Buddhist teaching suggests to us.

"Buddhist teaching places in men's hands a lever capable of transforming the base of society :

"Believe only in that which you yourselves have recognized as true and reasonable.....Believe nothing on the authority of another .. Fulfil only the acts which you have analysed and which have appeared to you conformable to reason, to your welfare and that of others... Be ye a light unto yourselves.

Clear-sighted conception of evolution

"These lessons are in our old books. Can we not see their enormous import ? What a profound difference is there between a society based on such principles, and ours, in which predominate arbitrary regulations, antiquated laws inadequate for our present needs, credulity, superstition and erroneous notions of all kinds. So, without resolving to dogmatize on special questions of authority, property, labour and so many other things, we can, whilst preaching the liberation of thought and the supremacy of reason in accordance with the Buddhist spirit, prepare men to find for themselves in all these problems normal and healthy solutions, such as according to the surroundings and the various degrees of evolution of those who will work them out, will contribute most powerfully to their well-being and the continuance of their mental progress.

"To destroy ignorance does not exclusively mean to soar with already superior minds into the subtlest regions of the Dhamma. Alas ! are not most of us still lisping its first lessons ? To destroy ignorance, even in the religious sense in which we wish to consider it here, may be to teach an ignorant one to read, to deliver a popular scientific lecture before an unlearned audience, to stimulate humble brains to reflection and reasoning.

"Need we insist further ? We think it superfluous. We have seen that if Buddhism does not furnish us with definite social formulae, it has a thoroughly clear-sighted conception of evolution, and of the necessary changes that its progress demands in human relations and institutions. Yet more. Buddhism possesses, in the highest degree, the consciousness of the necessity of free individual development....Individuals' dreams of happiness are fitted to their mentality, their mentality depends upon the nature of the elements which enter into the perpetually moving and changing aggregate forming what is called personality, and the meeting and union of these elements is determined by the great law of Karma. From this conception Buddhism concludes that we have not the power of organizing the details of the happiness or welfare of men whose mentality differs from our own. But it aims still higher and sees more widely in us, permitting us to show to all, the sure way by which each one will be able to accomplish his dreams of happiness, and the criterion which serves to test the materials which he proposes to use to build it up with, in order that, believing he builds the places of his rest, he will not make for himself a new Gehenna.

The Bodhisattva and the dying tigress

"It might be useful to deal with this first point : we hesitate to touch on the second. Ought we to render aid to those who suffer, when the cause of their suffering is altogether material and their dreams of happiness hover solely in the circle of earthly longings ? Our sisters and brothers will pardon us for daring to put such a question. Has a single one of them ever experienced the slightest doubt on the subject ? It is not a ceremony, a profession of faith which allows us and makes us true Buddhists, but simply the opening, in our hearts, of overflowing and universal compassion, which through the centuries permits us to commune with him who was above all and above everything, the Great Compassionate One.

"Is that classic meditation, then, which consists of embracing in succession each quarter of the world, then the whole world, in an intense feeling of love, with the ardent desire of using oneself for the good of the beings which compose it, a simple amusement ? Is that the indication of the definite goal towards which this rapture tends, namely, to throw ourselves as untiring combatants into the struggle against suffering ?

"Christians have the legend of the Saviour who gave his life for the deliverance of humanity. We have others which open before us more widely the vast expanse of charity. Who, then, can forget this story? The land is wasted with drought and famine. In the forest which the terrible Indian sun has burnt up, the Bodhisattva is walking. He is in one of his many existences which preceded his deliverance. He is yet but a pilgrim on the path which leads to Bodhi. On the other side of a thicket a tigress dying with hunger lies amidst her expiring young ones. Too weak to attack the man who is passing, she turns her eyes towards the prey which is escaping from her. A supreme longing lights them up ; a memory of the joyful frolics in the cool nights, a vision of murmuring springs, the maternal instincts in despair and a passionate attachment to existence, all these flash at the same time in her look...The Bodhisattva stops, contemplates the miserable creature for a moment, weighs his deed, and then, quite calm, turning from the path to this lowly animal pain, delivers up his body for food...The very exaggeration of this symbolical act is a lesson to us. Who would dare unfeelingly to pass by human anguish asking for bread and the little joys of earth, and afterwards call himself a follower of a doctrine which pushed its dream of compassion so far ?

The conquest of Redeeming Intelligence

"And if we tried, in spite of all things, to avoid the imperious duty of removing suffering from our unfortunate brothers, pretending that our mission consists solely in the preaching of complete Deliverance and not in lightening the burden of social miseries, should we not immediately be stopped by the indissoluble union in man of the mental and the physical element? Do we not know that any boundary betwixt the two is purely arbitrary? Does not experience prove to us the impossibility of directing, towards the summits of Buddhist doctrine, the thoughts of those men whom industrialism reduces to the state of living tools, whom it leaves, at the gate of the factory or the mine, enfeebled, brutalized, incapable of the smallest cerebral effort? Should we not prove that our apostleship was illusory and hypocritical, if we contented ourselves with repeating in their ears, which fatigue had rendered deaf, the words of deliverance ? Is not our mission to prepare for them by our efforts a more human life in which their mentality can progressively evolve, until they are permitted to conquer surely by themselves, that which no saviour can bring as a gift—Redeeming Intelligence. 'Go ye now, and wander for the gain of the many, out of compassion for the world..' Thus has our Master spoken : Let us not discuss the meaning of this command, but GO even as he has bidden us."

Alexandra David-Neel died in 1970 at the age of 100.

CHAPTER V

DENMARK

> "I would say that in a way I feel both like a Buddhist and a Christian."[1]
>
> —Dines Andersen

For over a century Denmark has been the home of great Pāli philologists. The greatest of these was by common consent V. Trenckner, who, towards the end of the last century, initiated the massive Critical Pāli Dictionary which is still being compiled with international support and collaboration.

R. K. Rask, the eminent Danish linguist, was the first known Westerner to come to the East for the purpose of studying Pāli. He arrived in Ceylon in 1821, studied not only Pāli but also Sinhalese, and acquired a rich collection of ancient palm-leaf manuscripts which today form part of the Rask Collection in the Royal Danish Academy. He wrote a Pāli grammar based on *Bālavatara*, an old Ceylon work, with a few reading texts for beginners, but it was not published.

A Danish scholar who rendered a distinct service to Pāli Buddhism was Viggo Fausball. While Eugene Burnouf concentrated on Sanskrit Buddhism in France, Fausball made great progress with his editions and translations of the Pāli canon in Denmark. His edition of the *Dhammapada* with a Latin translation (1855) heralded studies in Pāli Buddhism in Europe. His English translation of another major work, the *Sutta Nīpāta*, one of the earliest Buddhist texts of the Pāli canon, was published in the Sacred Books of the East Series in 1881, while the Pāli Text Society published his critical edition of the same text in 1885.

Edition of the Jātaka—a lasting monument

Fausball's greatest work, however, was his edition of the *Jātaka* or birth-stories of the Buddha. This massive work, which was published in six big volumes between 1887 and 1897, will ever remain a lasting monument to his great intellect and industry. It was a splendid contribution to the study of popular Buddhism and folklore.

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[1] The Critical Pāli Dictionary, Volume 1, 1948.

Another Danish scholar, N.L. Westergaard—Fausball's predecessor in the chair of indology at the Copenhagen University—encouraged Fausball to take up the study of Pāli and of Buddhism. Himself a Pāli scholar, Westergaard was more interested in the *Mahāvaṁsa* than in canonical works. A widely-travelled man in the East, he published in 1840 his well-known *Catalogus*.

Dines Andersen did splendid service as a Pāli lexicographer, philologist, and editor and translator of Buddhist texts for the Pāli Text Society. He edited in collaboration with Helmer Smith, the eminent Swedish Pāli scholar, the first volume of the Critical Pāli Dictionary. He was perhaps the only Danish scholar who, according to his biographer, Professor Paul Tuxen, could not escape the influence of ideas embodied in the Pāli texts, and used to say that in a way he felt both like a Buddhist and a Christian. He had a sincere feeling for the religious values of the old Pāli texts.

Paul Tuxen, who succeeded Dines Andersen as Professor of indology at Copenhagen University, was himself a noted indologist. He was a great believer in the mother tongue, and unlike other Danish scholars, wrote only in Danish, which few outside Denmark could understand. Consequently, he did not gain an international reputation. He is the author of two books on Buddhism: one, *The Buddha, His Doctrine and the Buddhist Tradition*, and the other, *An Explanation of Nāgārjuna's Philosophy of Buddhism*.

CRITICAL PĀLI DICTIONARY

Denmark's greatest contribution to Pāli scholarship is the compilation of the *Critical Pāli Dictionary*, the biggest undertaking of its kind anywhere in the world. Initiated by V. Trenckner, the doyen of Danish Pāli philologists, at the end of the last century, this massive lexicographical work is still being carried on by the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters with international support and collaboration. It was estimated in 1960, when volume 11 of the dictionary was published, that the completion of the task would take another 25 years. Yet the editors have declared that "it is not a dictionary of the whole Pāli literature."

The first editors of the dictionary, Dines Andersen and Helmer Smith, stated in their preface, dated September 1925, to the first publication of part of the dictionary that "before 1875, the year in which Childers' Dictionary appeared, Trenckner had read and made excerpts from *Abhidhāna-ppadīpikā*, the Dhātupāṭha, *Payogasiddhi*, and part of *Kaccayana*, part of *Vinaya*, the four *Nikāyas* (DN, MN, SN, AN), and the whole of *Papañcasūdanī*, *Dhammapada*, and its *Atthakathā*, *Sutta Nipāta* and *Paramatthajotikā*, *Udāna*, *Iti-vuttaka*, *Buddhavaṁsa*, *Cariyāpiṭaka*, *Thera and Therī-gāthā*, besides *Jātaka*, and the whole of its *Aṭṭhakathā*, and further *Aṭṭhasalinī*, *Sarasaṅgaha*, and *Mahāvaṁsa*, for the most part from the manuscripts. When he commenced his work as an editor of texts, he had thus a fairly rich vocabulary at his disposal, containing all the most important word-material from the chief canonical works in verse and prose, and a sufficiency of examples from commentaries and the works of grammarians."

Need of lexical aid for understanding texts

"As long as Trenckner lived he kept adding to his collections, drawing constantly upon new editions as they appeared, thus above all on *Vinaya* (1879-1883), as well as on the texts published by the Pāli Text Society up to 1890. It has been the object of the present editors to add to his material from the texts subsequently published, in the first place the Pāli Text Society's now almost completed edition of the canon. For Trenckner's reference to the manuscripts we have naturally substituted references to these editions, and we think the occasion to formulate as a desideratum for all future new editions of the canonical works, that they should be furnished with the pagination of the European Edditio princeps (as done e.g. in the second edition of the *Dhammapadatthakathā*, Vol. 1, Part 1, 1925, and in the Pāli Text Society's Translation Series); the same would be desirable for new editions of the *Aṭṭhakathās*, in which the pagination of the Bangkok editions of *Samantapāsādikā*, *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, *Papañcasūdanī*, *Sārattha-ppakāsinī*, and *Manorathapūraṇī* should be given.

"The late Professor Rhys Davids, to whom belongs the great merit of having organized the editorial work, pointed out, as early as twenty years ago, the growing need of a lexical aid for the right understanding of the texts, and he always insisted that the text editions should be furnished with full indexes. At the International Congresses of Orientalists he repeatedly tried to find co-operators for such a dictionary (see, *inter alia*, his report in the Journal of the Pāli Text Society, 1909, which appeared as a result of negotiations during the Congress of Orientalists at Copenhagen in 1908). The first essay on these lines was Professor Sten Konow's Pāli words, beginning with S, which was published in the Journal, 1909, after having been considerably augmented by means of Trenckner's material. A small example (the beginning of the letter Y by D. Andersen) of what could be achieved by the full use of Trenckner's material was shown to a circle of Sanskrit scholars at the Congress of Athens in 1912. On that occasion the promise of co-operation in the production of the dictionary was repeated, and there was a marked tendency in favour of the redaction of the dictionary taking place at Copenhagen where the work as it progressed could constantly be checked by means of Trenckner's material and with the MSS of the Rask Collection.

Publication of PTS Dictionary

"Two years later the great war broke out and upset all further hope of international co-operation even to this domain.

At Copenhagen, however, the work proceeded on the lines indicated, and in 1916, the present editors conceived a plan of editing the dictionary without the aid of foreign co-workers, a task which must of course be calculated to cover at least fifteen years."

"In the meanwhile Rhys Davids, whose great object it was to supply a provisional dictionary within as short a time as possible, had engaged a younger scholar as his assistant, and by the exertion of incredible energy contrived to publish the Pāli Text Society's Dictionary (1921-25), of which, however, he only saw the first two-thirds through the press before his death.

"The demand for a Pāli Dictionary being thus temporarily supplied, we have all the more reason to thank the Royal Danish Academy for still offering its aid in the production of the present dictionary by defraying the cost of the printing which we are now able to begin after eight years' preparation.

"We have called this work "A Critical Pāli Dictionary", both because Trenckner's material was from the first arranged on a critical basis, and because the nature of many of the modern editions of the texts imposes on us the obligation of re-testing the readings. The dictionary thus professes to be critical, but its criticism comes under the head of the lower criticism only, inasmuch as we are working exclusively on the Pāli canon and the younger books appertaining to it. Our plan has simply been to supply verified material for that higher criticism which checks the canon of Theravāda with the documents left by other Buddhist schools as well as with the deeper strata of Jain lore. Thus we have attempted to show what may be achieved by means of Pāli alone, but must leave it to others to draw the conclusions of further comparative study. We also believe that the fact of our having—according to Trenckner's plan—included *Nomina propria* and the titles of books and their separate sections, as well as the most necessary items from the traditional Pāli grammar—from *Kaccayana* to *Saddanīti*—will contribute to render the material we are here supplying more generally useful.

Liberal subvention grant for many years

"We cannot send out this publication without expressing our sincere thanks for all the kind encouragement we have met with, above all for the very liberal subvention grant for several years from the first beginning of our work by the Director of the East India Company, His Excellency H.N. Andersen; without this we should hardly have ventured to undertake the work in its present extent. We are also greatly indebted to the Danish Government, Carlsberg Fund, the Rask-Orsted Fund, to Mr. C. Aller, the owner of Bianco Luno's printing office, and the University Library of Copenhagen for support received in various ways for Indian studies in connection with our work."

In his preface, dated June 1960, to Vol. II of the dictionary published in 1960, L. L. Hammerich, chairman of the administrative commission, stated : "It is now twelve years since Vol. I of A Critical Pāli Dictionary was brought to a conclusion by the issue of the Epilegomena in 1948. At no time during the intervening years was the intention of continuing and completing the great lexicographical work wholly abandoned, but an estimate of the wide scope of Vol. I was at the same time a recognition of the enormous amount of work that remained to be done. As it was evident that the immense task widely surpassed the powers of Danish or even Scandinavian Indology, the continuation of the dictionary work after 1948 mainly consisted in a revision and re-arrangement of the material for the purpose of making it accessible to a wider circle of scholars.

Hendriksen's scheme for resumption of work

"Helmer Smith died on 9.1.1956 after some years of failing health; Hans Hendriksen, since 1944 his co-editor, had organized and directed the work in Copenhagen after he had succeeded Paul Tuxen as Professor of Indology in 1951; but a consideration of disproportion between the exacting work and the time he could devote to it forced him to resign his editorship a year after Helmer Smith's death; he accompanied his resignation by a detailed account of the state of the work and outlined a scheme for a resumption of the work on an international basis. The Commission of the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters for the CPD (then as now consisting of

Professors K. Barr, L.L. Hammerich, and L. Hjelmsler) welcomed the plan of continuing the work on an international basis, and in June 1958, L. L. Hammerich, chairman of the Commission, brought the matter before the session of the Union Academique Internationale.

"In the meantime the 24th International Congress of Orientalists at Munich, August 1957, has passed the following resolution: 'This present 24th International Congress of Orientalists considering the urgent need of the Critical Pāli Dictionary, undertaken by the Royal Danish Academy, for every worker in the field of Buddhism as well as Indology and Indian Linguistics in general, expresses the hope that the said Academy, with the assistance of the Royal Danish Government, will take the necessary steps for a resumption of the work on the Critical Pāli Dictionary and ensure its speedy completion.' And in 1958 a grant from the Rask-Orsted Foundation enabled the commission to invite a number of Pāli scholars from different countries to attend a conference in Copenhagen (September 1958) to consider the prospect of the work on an international basis and draw up a preliminary plan for the future work. It was the unanimous opinion of the scholars invited from abroad that the dictionary work must be continued in Copenhagen, having as its foundation the copious and critically collected material compiled by Trenckner and amplified by the editors of Vol. I of the CPD; the Danish participants called attention to the great difficulty caused by the impossibility of deciding now what texts unknown to Trenckner were thoroughly represented in the collections of the dictionary; it was agreed to meet that difficulty by an excerption undertaken by various scholars of a number of texts representing the different strata of Pāli literature; but on the other hand it was a general wish that the edition of Vol. II should not be delayed by waiting for the collection of new material.

Rules for international collaboration

"The deliberations of the conference have formed the basis of the drafting of the general rules for the international collaboration. The publication of the CPD will also in the future be undertaken by the Royal Danish Academy through an administrative commission consisting of members of the Academy, at present K. Barr, L.L. Hammerich, and L. Hjelmsler; the scholarly work will be carried on under the direction of a supervisory committee, for which the following Indologists were elected at the conference: L. Alsdorf (Hamburg), H. Hendriksen (Copenhagen), Miss I. B. Horner (London), G. P. Malalasekera (Colombo), and which was in March 1960, joined by H. Humbach (Saarbrucken).

"The academies which are members of the Union Academique Internationale have been invited to join the work by appointing Pāli scholars from their own countries as collaborators in the dictionary work. This must necessarily be continued and completed by joint efforts according to a plan the details of which still remain to be worked out, but which in its general outlines was approved by the UAI at the sessions in 1959, at which a proposal was adopted to recommend the inclusion of a subvention to the CPD in the budget of the UNESCO: this recommendation was transmitted to the session of the Council International de la Philosophie et des Sciences Humaines in September, 1959, at which L.L. Hammerich was present. There it was decided to propose to the UNESCO to grant an annual subvention of 3,000 dollars to the work of the CPD, and a proposal to be treated at the general assembly of the UNESCO in December, 1960.

"The UNESCO subvention is applied for as a supplement to the expenses defrayed by the various academies; the financing of the work is mainly based on the principle that each participating academy pays the scholars it places at the disposal of the dictionary work. The supervisory committee has the right of approval of the collaborators. The Royal Danish Academy has reason to believe that it will further be able to pay—besides the Danish collaborators—both the cost of print, the rent of working rooms, and office expenses, as has hitherto been the case.

Assistance from two Foundations

"The Royal Danish Academy will be able to do this, if, as it is hoped, the Carlsberg Foundation (Copenhagen) will continue to give as liberal subsidies as it has done in the past, especially to pay for the work of the Danish collaborators. We are exceedingly grateful for all that the Carlsberg Foundation has done for many years for the benefit of the Critical Pāli Dictionary. It is also to be hoped that the Rask-Orsted Foundation (Copenhagen) will in the future as in the past give occasional subsidies to ensure the co-operation of Danish and non-Danish Pāli scholars.

"The Academy of Mainz was the first to join the general plan. Thanks especially to the efforts of Prof. Helmuth Scheel, the general secretary of that academy, it has been possible to release Dr. Hermann Kopp (Heidelberg) from other duties and persuade him to take up the dictionary work in Copenhagen, where he has devoted his full working power to the cause of the CPD for more than a year; the Academy of Mainz (supported by the Deutsche Forschangsgemeinschaft) has co-operated with the Heidelberg Academy in this matter, and it is hoped that Dr. Kopp will be able to carry on this important work.

"Also the Prague Academy has joined the work for the continuation of the CPD. At the suggestion of Prof. J. Prusek of the said academy, supported by Dr. Holubec of the Czechoslovak Ministry of Education, it was arranged that Dr. Ivo Fiser, Lecturer at the Charles University of Prague, should spend a month in Copenhagen (October 1959) to acquaint himself with the work; he at once joined in the collaboration and will be able to continue his work for the CPD from Prague.

"Preliminary negotiations have been conducted with other academies, but it will take some time before international collaboration under the auspices of the UAI will be fully reorganized. In the meantime the commission for the CPD has by correspondence and personal contact established connection with a number of Pāli scholars who may one day be active collaborators, and, thanks to a grant from the Rask-Orsted Foundation, the Commission could invite the Sinhalese Pāli scholar, Dr. C. E. Godakumbura, who spent a month about New Year, 1959, in Copenhagen, dividing his time between the elaboration of plans for the future work and the drafting of some of the first articles for Vol. II. Dr. Godakumbura will also work for the CPD in the future, as far as his office as

Archaeological Commissioner of the Government of Ceylon leaves him time.[1]

Inclusion of Geiger's collection in CPD

"At the conference in Copenhagen in September, 1958, the possibility of including other lexicographical collections in the edition of the CPD was mentioned. Attention was specially called to the comprehensive collection of lexicographical slips left by W. Geiger. Mrs. Geiger was ready to meet the wishes of the Royal Danish Academy, and entrusted Prof. H. Humbach (Saarbrucken) and his assistant, Dr. Bechert (who is editing other literary work left by Geiger) with the arrangement of the utilization of the material with the Danish Academy; for this purpose Dr. Bechert visited Copenhagen in January (1960), and an agreement was made according to which Geiger's valuable collections will be regularly included in the CPD from fascicule 2 of Vol. II; the first fascicule was already in the press when Dr. Bechert visited Copenhagen, but he has taken the trouble to make some additions to the proofs. It is to be deeply regretted that Mrs. Gieger did not live to see the arrangement for the inclusion of W. Geiger's lexicographical collections in the CPD carried into effect; she died on January 25, 1960; the trustee of the heirs, Prof. Rudolf Geiger, approved of the arrangement and welcomed the publication of his father's collections under the general scheme of the CPD, for which the members of the commission wish to express their gratitude.

Since Dr. H. Kopp accepted the appointment by the Academy of Mainz, the work in Copenhagen has been carried out by him in connection with the Danish collaborators, F. Moller-Kristensen. Mrs. Else Pauly, and N. Warmdhal, who, however, have so far been able to give only part of their time to dictionary work; the publication of fascicule 1 of Vol. II is the result of the joint efforts of the workers in Copenhagen, Prof. L. Alsdort (Hamburg), Dr.C.E. Godakumbura (Colombo), and Dr. Ivo Fiser (Prague). Mrs. Pauly has had the special task of co-ordination and has given valuable assistance to the administrative commission.

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[1] Dr. Godakumbura has since retired from the Department of Archaeology, Ceylon.

Use of Pāli Tripiṭakam Concordance

"At the preparation of articles the system of Vol. I has, naturally, been followed, but a detailed plan for the co-ordination of the work has still to be worked out, and a completely uniform arrangement has not been possible in the present circumstances.

"In agreement with what was decided at the conference in 1958, a scheme has been drawn up according to which a number of important or typical texts, belonging to the different strata of later Pāli, should be systematically excerpted by scholars from various countries; but it will take some years before the enlarged material is at hand; in the meantime, rather laborious investigations of texts must be undertaken—and have been undertaken—at the drafting of the articles; in spite of all efforts, this way of adding to the material is not satisfactory, and it is to be hoped that from the beginning of the consonants the enlarged material will form the basis of the published work.

"The collaborators wish to express their gratitude to the Pāli Text Society for the publication of the Pāli Tipitakam Concordance, which has been a great support in the work, and which has supplied a number of references; at the same time it should be stressed that the CPD does not pretend to give all canonical references, and thus by no means renders the Concordance superfluous even for the published parts of the CPD.

"The Royal Library of Copenhagen and the University Library of Uppsala have placed a number of books at the disposal of the CPD; the commission and collaborators are very grateful for reviving that liberal help, which is much needed, as it will take some time before the library of the CPD will be sufficiently enlarged to supply the books necessary for the extended work.

Miss Horner's comments on first volume

"Many eminent scholars both in Europe and America, as well as in Asia, have shown an active interest in the progress of the work of the CPD and have assisted the Commission in various ways at the reorganization of the work; it is our hope that in a few years the united efforts will have created powerful collaboration of competent scholars from the East and the West, who will be able to complete the great work in about twenty-five years."

Since writing the above, some of the hopes and expectations expressed there by Prof. Hammerich have been fulfilled, and the work of the dictionary is proceeding smoothly.

At the first meeting of the conference held in 1958 at Copenhagen, Miss I. B. Horner, President, Pāli Text Society, London, said that the first volume of the dictionary was a splendid one and should be continued and not hampered by the hopeless striving for perfection." Quickness was to be recommended, she said. One ought not to wait in order to include certain material, as material would always be growing.

Perhaps, the collections of words made by Stede and Woodward as appendices to the Pāli-English Dictionary of the Pāli Text Society might be utilized, suggested Miss Horner. Their copies of the PED containing these additions now belong to the London School of Oriental and African Studies.

The conference mentioned the following scholars from whom information and advice might be obtained ; Dr. Pentti Aalto (Helsinki), Prof. Sir Harold Bailey (Cambridge), Dr. Andre Barleau (Paris), Dr. Heinz Bechert (Saarbrucken), Dr. Hermann Berger (Munster), Prof. J. Brough (Cambridge), Prof. Paul Demieville (Paris), Prof. J. Filliozat (Paris), Prof. Erich Frauwallner (Wien), Dr. Herbert V. Gunther (Lucknow), Prof. Dr. F. R. Hamm (Hamburg), Prof. H. Hoffmann (Munich), Prof. N. A. Jayawickreme (Peradeniya, Ceylon), Prof. W. De Jong (Leyden), Prof. C. V. Joshi (Poona), Prof. C. E. Lamotte (Louvain), Dr. Siegfried Lienhard (Stockholm), Dr. M. Mayrhofer (Germany), Dr. K. R. Norman (Cambridge), Dr. Walpola Rahula (Paris), Prof. Constantin Regamey (Lausanne), Dr. H. Saddhātissa (London), Prof. Sazaki (Japan), Dr. D. Schlingloff (Berlin), Dr. Ulrich Schneider (Leipzig), Dr. Schwarzschild (U.S.), Dr. Nils Simonsson (Uppsala), Ven. Tittila (Rangoon), Prof. G. Tucci (Rome), Prof. Waldschmidt (Gottingen), Dr. A. K. Warder (Edinburgh), Dr. R. Williams (London), and Mr. Tin Lwin (London).

What the author is expected to do

The conference agreed upon the following eight items : 1. The material left by Trenckner, Dines Andersen, and Helmer

Smith be revised and prepared in Copenhagen by the present collaborators ; 2. a list of Pāli texts which need re-examination be drawn up ; 3. the excerption of texts be undertaken by different scholars who will provide not only references but also meanings and translations : a team of scholars selected from the above list will assist Dr. Godakumbura who undertook to lead this work ; 4. it is hoped to include other existing collections of lexicographical material in the Copenhagen collection; 5. scientific literature is to be gone through in Copenhagen as well as in other centres ; 6. the work of drafting the articles be divided between the staff and different scholars to whom copies of the slips be sent : Prof. Alsdorf, Dr. Godakumbura, Prof. Malalasekera, and Dr. de Vreese offered to take part in this work and to contact other scholars ; 7. Dr. Godakumbura undertook to prepare a concordance for the *Atthakatha* to be used by the dictionary ; 8. the editing of the letter "a" be carried out as soon as possible.

The writing of articles for the dictionary is described as "independent scholarly work." Mere "mechanical arrangement of quotations on the basis of the material placed at the author's disposal" will not do. What the author is expected to do is to provide "a critical selection of quotations to convey the clearest possible elucidation of the word to be described, and the textual criticism of the quotations selected".

Volume I of the dictionary describes the language of the canonical literature and the earliest commentaries. It also deals with other parts of the Pāli literature : the semi-canonical works, *Vinaya* and *Abhidhamma compendia*, and parts of the historical and technical (grammatical) literature.

Danish works on Buddhism

The dictionary is edited by Prof L.L. Hammerich (editor-in-chief) and an international body of Pāli scholars. It is published by the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters. There is a supervisory committee composed of Miss I.B. Horner (London), L. Alsdorf (Hamburg), H. Hendriksen (Copenhagen), H. Humbach (Saarbrucken), and G.P. Malalasekera (Colombo). Each of the two volumes so far published contains seven fascicules.

Volume II of the dictionary appeared in 1960. The Pāli scholars who contributed to it were Mrs. Else Pauly (Copenhagen), H. Kopp (Heidelberg), I. Fiser (Praha), N. Warmdahl (Copenhagen), C.E. Godakumbura (Colombo), F. Moller-Kristensen (Copenhagen), and L. Alsdorf (Hamburg).

Besides the great contributions of Pāli philologists, lexicographers, editors and translators, numerous books on Buddhist themes have been published not only by indologists but also by those in other walks of life.

Of the works of avowed Danish Buddhists, the one published in 1926 in Danish by Chr. F.Melbye, a doctor of medicine, under the title *Buddhareligionen,* is remarkable. The author made an effort in it to show how the Buddha's teaching was reflected in the view of a Danish Buddhist 25 centuries after the Buddha. Melbye also edited a periodical called *Buddhistisk Budskab for Buddhistisk 'Samfund I Denmark,* a Buddhist society not in existence now.

Another avowed Buddhist author was Chr. Reventlow, a politician, journalist, and writer. He wrote two books, *Buddhismen I dansk Litteratur* (Buddhism in Danish Literature) and *Hvad Buddha laerte om Livets Mening* (Wha t the Buddha Taught about the Meaning of Life.)

In 1901 Harald Hoffding wrote a psychological characterization of the Buddha under the title *Religionsfilosofi*, while Fritz Publich published his *Buddhas Vej til Nirvāna.*

With the support of Carlsberg Foundation, J. Prip-moller published in 1937 a work on Chinese Buddhist monasteries, their plans and functions as a setting for Buddhist monastic life.

Penetrating insight into Buddha's thinking

Edv. Lehmann brought out in 1907 *Buddha, hans Laere og hans Oaerning* (The Buddha, His Life and Work). Up to 1920 the book ran to three editions in Danish. A German edition appeared in 1911. Lehmann wrote two other books : *Buddhismen* (1905), and *Der Buddhismus als indische Sekte, als Weltreligion* (1911).

"The best that has been written about the Buddha with the most penetrating insight into the Buddha's way of thinking is probably the chapter about him in Vilhelm Gronbeck's *Mystikere I Europa og Indien,* 1925," states Prof. Poul Tuxen. The book was reprined in 1967. Gronbeck (1873-1948) was Professor of the history of religions at Copenhagen University. In his chapter on the Buddha, he gives a brilliant interpretation of the *Paticclasamutpāda* or Dependent Origination.

"Buddhism has acted as a stimulus even to Danish thought," states Mrs. Else Pauly, the Danish Pāli scholar, in giving the facts specified above.[1]

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[1] In a letter to the author dated 13 December, 1968.

RASMUS KRISTIAN RASK

Rasmus Kristian Rask, the eminent Danish linguist, was the first Westerner to travel to the East for the purpose of studying Pāli. He spent seven years in the East. He visited Ceylon six years after the inhabitants of the Island's hill-country, which formed a separate kingdom, deposed their king, Sri Vikrema Rajasingha, in 1815, and ceded their kingdom to the British. In Ceylon he made a thorough study of Pāli and Sinhalese, and acquired a rich collection of palm-leaf manuscripts, which today form part of the Rask Collection in the Royal Danish Academy. On his return home, he compiled a Pāli grammar based on *Bālavatara*, an ancient Pāli grammar of Ceylon, adding a few reading lessons for beginners, which, however, was not published.

Rask was born in 1787 and died in 1832. Although he was a competent Pāli scholar, he did not engage himself in the study of Pāli Buddhism. But it was the collection of palm-leaf manuscripts which he took to Denmark from Ceylon that formed the foundation of the Pāli Buddhist studies of Trenckner and Fausball. These same manuscripts have been of immense value to Pāli scholars connected with the editing of the Critical Pāli Dictionary. Fausball dedicated the first volume of his great edition of the *Jātaka* to Rask's memory with the superscription : "Dedicated to the memory of the greatest linguist of the North, Rasmus Kristian Rask, the peasant's son." His memory is perpetuated in Denmark by the Rask Foundation, Copenhagen.

VIGGO FAUSBALL

Michael Viggo Fausball, the son of a clergyman, was born on 22 September, 1824. After his matriculation he entered Copenhagen University where he combined the study of theology, which was to be his livelihood as a teacher, with studies of his interest—philosophy, philology and linguistics. Drawing inspiration from the works of R.K. Rask, he began his Scandinavian studies with Old Norse and Icelandic, and soon turned to Iranian. Next he studied Sanskrit, and at the age of 22 won the gold medal of the University for a treatise on Sanskrit syntax (based on *Hitopadeśa*). He passed the State Examination in theology in 1840 and received an appointment as a teacher. He devoted his free time to Indian studies.

Fausball became interested in Rask's palm-leaf manuscripts which had been deposited in the University library. But he knew neither Pāli nor Sinhalese. So he began to teach himself Pāli. His knowledge of Sanskrit helped him a great deal in learning, Pāli. In the beginning he transcribed with *Nāgarī* letters, and then evolved a system of transcription by means of the Roman alphabet, supporting himself on Rask's treatment of the Sinhalese script. From 1848 he began to copy Rask's Pāli manuscripts, beginning with grammatical texts, and from 1849 he was engaged with the *Jātaka* stories.

Famous first edition of Dhammapada

At first Fausball contemplated bringing out an edition of the *Jātaka*, but Professor Westergaard thought that he should not attempt it as the work was an immense one. So he took up the *Dhammapada*, and in 1855, while receiving a State subsidy, he published his famous first edition in Roman script with a Latin translation. Dines Andersen regards Fausball as the father of Pāli philology in Denmark. Trenckner, among others, was driven to Pāli studies by Fausball's work, and it was Trenckner who ultimately became a big support to Fausball.

In 1861, Fausball was appointed assistant at the University library where he remained until 1878, in which year he succeeded Westergaard as Professor of Indology at the University.

Fausball's greatest work was his monumental *Jātaka* edition. To arouse interest in the big book he started publishing a series of *Jātaka* stories from 1861 to 1872. He went to England seven times and had good contacts in Ceylon. He succeeded in obtaining financial support from the Danish and Iranian governments and from the Berlin Academy. He obtained manuscripts from friends in the East. He could not, however, use the manuscripts which were in St. Petersburg and Paris. The Sinhalese manuscripts in the Rask Collection, which were the basis of his edition, needed correction. At a certain stage of his work he feared he would have to give it up because he required other manuscripts earlier than he could obtain them. But, fortunately, he was able to secure some of these manuscripts from his friend, the Ven. Waskaduwe Sri Subuthi, a learned Buddhist monk of Ceylon. While he was working at volume two of his *Jātaka* he recetived as a gift from Col. Duncan a Burmese manuscript of the whole *Jātaka*. The last volume of his edition of the *Jātaka* was an index prepared by Dines Andersen, containing Fausball's postcript.

He translated the *Sutta Nipāta*, one of the earliest works of the Pāli canon, into English in 1881. His complete edition of this work appeared in 1884.

Weak eyesight compelled him to retire from his post of professor at Copenhagen University in 1902. He was a popular teacher. The University conferred upon him an honorary doctorate in recognition of his great services and scholarship.

Admirer of Buddha but not a Buddhist

Highly esteemed by scholars both in the West and in the East, Fausball was attached to some of them with strong ties of friendship. He spent long periods in England, and while there in 1873 he married Ellen Louise Beckwell Lohmier. He divided his time in London between the British Museum and the Royal Asiatic Society. Rhys Davids was among his close friends. "He led a quiet life. He had a healthy and gay way of looking at himself and the world. He was a great admirer of the Buddha, but was not a Buddhist," states his biographer, Professor Dines Andersen.

Fausball was elected a member of the Royal Danish

Academy in 1876, and from 1890 was a member of the Royal Asiatic Society. He was awarded the Bopp Prize (Berlin) in 1888. He was a member of various learned societies, and had a great collection of manuscripts and transcripts made by himself in Sinhalese, Siamese and Burmese, which are now at the Royal Library, Copenhagen. He died on 3 June, 1908.

In his American Lectures, 1894-95, Rhys Davids pays a handsome tribute to Fausball. Says he: "The value of Turnour's *editio princeps* of the *Mahāvaṁsa* was at once widely acknowledged, but on the death of Turnour, no one was found to carry on his work....His book remained, like a solitary landmark in an unexplored country, chiefly useful as a continual inducement to some scholar with ability and leisure to explore beyond. Only a few insignificant essays, nibbling inefficiently at the outskirts of the subject, appeared in Europe, till at last in 1855 Mr.Viggo Fausball came forward with an *editio princeps* of another Pāli text.

Second landmark in knowledge of Pāli

"Mr. Fausball, now Professor of Sanskrit at Copenhagen, was then engaged at the University Library there, and it was a very bold undertaking to attempt such a task with the limited aids at his disposal. He chose, not an historical work, but a religious one, the *Dhammapada*, a collection of 432 verses mostly culled from the Buddhist Scriptures (a sort of hymn-book); and he published, with the text, not only a translation into Latin, but also very copious extracts from the ancient Pāli commentary upon it. His work has been of the utmost service, and it is the second landmark in the history of our knowledge of Pāli. It is pleasant to be able to remind the reader that the veteran scholar has steadily adhered to his first love. He subsequently brought out a number of specimens of that wonderful collection of ancient folklore included by a fortunate chance in the canon of the Buddhist Scriptures. And finding how great was the interest they elicited, he has now, for many years, been printing an *editio princeps* of the whole collection. Five substantial volumes have already appeared, the sixth is well advanced in the press, and we may legitimately turn aside for a moment to send to Prof. Fausball our congratulations, and our thanks, and to express a hope, in the interests of historical study, that he will be spared not only to complete this *magnum opus*, but to add in other ways to the great service he has already rendered to historical research.

"But to return to our story. After the publication of the *Dhammapada* by Professor Fausball in 1855, the study of Pāli again languished for a whole generation, and would in all probability have languished still had it not been for the third landmark in the history of our knowledge of Pāli, the publication in two volumes in the years 1870 and 1873 of the Dictionary by R.C. Childers."

V. TRENCKNER

Born in Copenhagen on 26 February, 1824, V. Trenckner was of German descent. His father was a baker by trade. His full name was Carl Wilhelm Trenckner, but he preferred to use V for Wilhelm. He attended a German middle school in Copenhagen, received private tuition and matriculated from Copenhagen University, where he first turned to classical philology, but at the same time applied himself to the study of oriental and occidental languages, in all of which he preserved an intense interest throughout his life. The great results of the famous journeys of Rask and Westergaard in Persia and India developed his main interest towards the East. He never acquired a University degree; but mastered, besides his own language, English, Latin, Greek, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Russian, Sanskrit, Pāli, Sinhalese, Burmese, Hindi, Persian, Arabic, Tamil, Bengali, Syriac and Ethiopic. Later, he won international fame as a Pāli philologist and lexicographer and editor and translator of Buddhist Pāli scriptures. At the end of the 19th century he initiated the colossal Critical Pāli Dictionary which is still being edited and published with international support and collaboration by the Royal Danish Academy.

A modest fortune enabled him to indulge in linguistic studies at his ease during his youth. "As may be seen from his papers", writes Dines Andersen, his biographer, "he was specially proficient in Arabic and Persian and for that reason he hoped in 1853 to obtain a post at the Royal Library, but failed in spite of the most flattering recommendations from his orientalist professors. At last, in 1861, he found a modest post in the Copenhagen Orphans' Asylum, where, until his death in 1891, he taught the poor children Danish and the elements of history and geography, and occasionally some advanced students modern languages, in which he was highly proficient".

A masterly edition of Milindapañho

Trenckner was a contemporary of Viggo Fausball, who in 1855 edited and published the *Dhammapada* with a Latin translation—the first complete Pāli text to be published in the West. Trenckner had been busy with Pāli manuscripts for about twenty-five years before he produced his edition of *Milindapañho*, which Dr. Robert Childers called "a masterly edition." He also described Trenckner as "a ripe and graceful Pāli scholar". Trenckner next appeared before the public with his most important work, *Pāli Miscellany*.

While studying Sanskrit, Persian, Bengali, Sinhalese, Hindi and Burmese, Trenckner read the whole of the *Mahābhārata*, and also acquainted himself with Fausball's transcripts of Pāli texts, which he copied for himself, correcting them by collating the originals. Later, he made transcripts on his own account of most of the Pāli manuscripts in the Copenhagen Collection and of some others lent from London. "All his manuscripts are very fine and scrupulously worked out in the stenographic system invented by Fausball for this purpose," states Dines Andersen.

Professor Andersen, who describes Trenckner as "a most ingenious Pāli scholar," proceeds to state that nearly all Trenckner's transcripts are small, about three inches in width, and that the result of this system wast hat his transcript of the whole Jātaka with its commentary, containing the text of Fausball's edition, Vols. III-VI, is only three small volumes having 2,070 pages in all. The transcripts are so accurate that it is almost impossible to find an error in a letter, comma or dot.

Material for lexicographical collections

Trenckner's first plan was to prepare a critical edition of the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* with an alphabetical index. His manuscript for this edition dates from 1954-'55, while his *Dhatumañjūṣā* is from 1858. In the meantime he had transcribed the two first volumes of the *Dīgha-nikāya* (Chapters I-XVIII, 1856-'57), the rest of the same dates from 1867-'68. From this first period also began his transcript of the whole *Milindapañho* (1857-'59), of which he finished a clean copy for printing in 1860. From the sixties he worked on his manuscripts of *Majjhima-nikāya* and *Prapañcasūdanī*, (the last volume of which was finished in 1873), *Aṭṭhasalinī*, *Sārasaṅgha* and *Sutta Nipāta*. Further, the whole *Saṁ-*

yutta Nikāya and perhaps also *Aṅgutttara Nikāya*; *Manorathapūranī*, the commentary on this latter work, which ten years later was procured by Fausball from Ceylon, in a modern paper manuscript, was completed in 1885 by Trenckner, but, unfortunately, his manuscripts. of *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and *Majjhima Nikāya* were lost, both having been lent to Dr. Morris in England, and nobody seems to know what has become of these two important manuscripts after he had made transcripts of the *Payogasiddhi*, the *Jātaka*, *Paramattha-jotikā*, *Dhmmapada-aṭṭhakathā*, *Parivāra*, part of *Paramattha-dīpanī* and finally a volume containing *Udāna*, *Itivuttika*, *Suttā Nipāta*, *Buddhavaṁsa*, *Cariyā-piṭaka*, *Theragāthā*, *Therīgāthā* (from London MSS.)

In 1880, Trenckner's printed edition of *Milindapañho* was completed, and during his last ten years he was engaged in the monumental edition of the *Majjhimanikāya* of which he did not live to see more than the first half through the press.

"All the transcripts of Trenckner are not mere copies of the manuscripts; they are from line to line filled with critical observations and cross-references to parallel passages," states Dines Andersen. "In fact they were not written for publication, but to serve as materials for his great lexicographical and grammatical collections, which he began to arrange from the very first time of his occupation with Pāli.

Pāli words on small paper slips

"Trenckner's dictionary is on small paper slips, very often with writing also on the back. It is curious to observe that when he began to collect the Pāli words, he made use of the slips formerly used for his Arabic lexicon. The references begin with the *Abhidhānap*, next follow passages quoted from his own transcripts, sometimes having the signature of the palm-leaves, or referring to the original editions, i.e. *Mahāvaṁsa*, ed Turnour, *Vinaya Piṭaka*, vols. 1-5, *Dhammapada* (1885), the first two volumes of the *Jātaka*, etc.

"The main stock of these materials contains only the nouns and indeclinable words in Pāli, while all the verbal forms are collected in separate lexicons in the same manner as in Westergaard's *Badices Linguae Sanskritae*, but, so that the Pāli forms are referred to the different Sanskrit roots, which are placed in the ordinary alphabetical order.

"Minor portions of the paper slips contain various observations concerning Pāli grammar, specially suffixes, syntax, etc., miscellaneous quotations from the texts illustrating secular and daily life, chronology, law, names of plants, etc., (proper names and titles of books or their divisions are included among the nouns). With special interest Trenckner devoted himself to the registration of peculiarities in the manuscripts and their writing, mis-scripts, etc., in Sinhalese and Burmese, all worked out with the usual minute accuracy. Often we find in his books a complete statistical enumeration of the different spellings met with by him.

"Trenckner is now only a name (*nāmamatta*), but his name deserves to be deeply inscribed in the history of Pāli philology," concludes Professor Dines Andersen, adding: "His whole life bore the impress of resignation, industry, and charity. He led a quiet and solitary life, and he never travelled outside his own country and rarely out of town; his extraordinary frugality enabled him to save up a small capital which he left by will for the benefit of the Orphans' Asylum, where he had worked for 30 years, and where many persons have remembered his benevolence. No monument adorns his grave, but on the stele which ought to have been erected there we think these words might have been fittingly engraved : *Appamatto ātāpī pahitatto* ! (*Majjhima Nikāya*)[1]

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[1] Based on the account in the Critical Pāli Dictionary, Vol. 1, Denmark.

DINES ANDERSEN

"That Dines Andersen should live to see the completion of his life-work was expected neither by himself nor by anyone else ; nevertheless, it seems tragic that his work should have been broken off during the treatment of the first letter of the alphabet. But his share in the Critical Pāli Dictionary is, of course, by no means limited to what had appeared in print or had merely been worked out in manuscript at the time of his death ; it is a consolation to know that his personality and working method will leave their mark also in the future parts of the work which he cherished with such a warm affection." So states Professor Poul Tuxen in his biography of Professor Dines Andersen, published in the Critical Pāli Dictionary, Vol. 2, Denmark, 1948.

Born on 26 December, 1861, in Ullersler, a little village in the Danish island of Fyn, Dines Andersen was the son of a millwright. He grew up in humble circumstances, and until his fourteenth year had to be satisfied with the ordinary boarding-school education. But the bright and gifted boy attracted the attention of influential people who sent him to the Grammar School of Odense, where he matriculated in 1881.

Awarded gold medal by University

Entering Copenhagen University, he pursued classical philology and general linguistics. He studied Sanskrit under Professor Fausball. "What fascinated him here," states his biographer, "was chiefly Sanskrit in the historical aspect of the language ; the elaborate poetry and subtle thought of this literature was bound to remain somewhat foreign in his nature. He never got over a certain shyness towards the contents of the classical Sanskrit texts, whereas he made the syntax of the language the subject of his first works. In 1889 he was awarded the gold medal of the University for an investigation on the use of the participles in the *Pañcatañtra* and *Hitopadeśa*, and in 1892 took his doctor's degree with a dissertation on the use and meaning of the voices of the Sanskrit verb specially illustrated by investigations on the usage in the *Chāndogya Upanishad.*

"It was, however, as a Pālist that Dines Andersen won a reputation. When he was appointed librarian to the University Library in 1891, V. Trenckner's manuscripts of Pāli texts and his collection of words on slips were given into his charge and this determined his career as a researcher. The need for a Pāli dictionary on truly philological principles was quite clear to him and he saw just as clearly the extreme difficulty of the task, amongst other things, because the European—and indeed also the Indian-printed editions of Pāli texts were often of an exceedingly provisional character. But it was impossible to begin the lexicographical work at once. First it was necessary to make a thorough study of the texts. This he did at the instance of Fausball, his critical attitude and his demand for the application of the methods of classical philology becoming the more rigorous as the edition of the texts fell into the hands of well meaning but untrained amateurs.

Issues of Pāli Reader and Glossary

"Dines Andersen's treatment of the texts progressed steadily. In 1891 he issued a translation of selected Buddhist legends from the *Rasavāhinī*. The succeeding years were taken up, amongst other things, by the making of an index to Fausball's edition of the *Jātaka*. It constitutes the seventh volume of the edition and contains a complete list of proper names and titles as well as an index of the initial stanzas and another of parallel verses; it was published in 1897. Of the greatest importance for the study of Pāli at Universities all over the world was the text-book of Pāli of which Dines Andersen issued the first part in 1901 under the title of *A Pāli Reader I.* This volume contains a most useful collection of texts, revised by means of manuscripts and commentaries, and followed by notes, critical and bibliographical. The fine pedagogic qualities of this anthology, apparently intended to be a counterpart to Wimmer's "Old nordisk Laesebog" which Dines Andersen had learnt to appreciate as a college teacher of Old Norse, assured it a public all over the world ; a fourth impression had to be issued in 1935. Its indispensable supplement, *A Pāli Glossary*, appeared in 1904-07. This was not merely a glossary to the texts contained in the Reader but, as it deals also with the vocabulary of the *Dhammapada*, it contains no small amount of lexicographical material and much patient labour is embodied in not a few of the articles of the glossary, which give evidence of Dines Andersen's capacity for combination and his keen critical eye.

"A couple of years after the appearance of the first part of the Reader, Dines Andersen was appointed professor of Indian philology in the University of Copenhagen, holding this professorship from 1903 to 1927. But his university duties did not divert his interest from what would, according to his previous publications, be his actual aim, viz. the great, badly needed Pāli dictionary. At the Congress of Athens in 1912 he succeeded in gaining adherents to the idea of an international collaboration with its chief seat in Copenhagen, which, thanks both to Trenckner's material and the collection of Pāli manuscripts preserved at the Royal Library, would be the natural centre of the preparatory work. The outbreak of the Great War made it impossible to carry through the largely planned programme and so, in 1916, Dines Andersen took the matter into his own hands. He won for his plan Helmer Smith (now Professor in Upsala University), a pupil of K.F. Johansson, Pischel and Luders, and initiated him into the special methods of Pāli philology. In conjunction with Helmer Smith he had, in 1914, issued a new edition of the *Sutta Nipāta* with new material of text-critical importance, and Smith was also joint editor of the Pāli *Dhātupāṭha* and the *Dhātumañjūṣā*, issued in 1921 as preparatory to what the editors called "our edition of Trenckner's Pāli Dictionary.

"But the abundant new material which appeared subsequent to 1891—editions and reprints of the canon and commentaries due mainly to the Pāli Text Society, the Siamese Government, the S. Hewavitarane Bequest, and finally to the King of Cambodia—involved an extension of Trenckner's plan, and so the work which the two authors began to publish in 1924 is an entirely new work based on Trenckner's material. They have called their work "A Critical Pāli Dictionary" and by the qualification "critical" they desired to express the fact that the textual treatment of many of the modern editions really required a critical revision for the settling of dubious readings. It was Dines Andersen's aim to lay the necessary foundation for future comparative studies of Theravāda commentaries on contra documents of other Buddhistic schools. Therefore, with a wise limitation, he confined himself to Pāli literature only, his main object being the internal textual criticism, the restitution of the text-form commented upon by Buddhaghoṣa and Dhammapāla. In his own words—see the preface to the present volume—as to the sources of 'lower criticism' it may be added that, along with his legitimate preference for the Pāli, Sanskrit and Ardhamagadhi documents, he gradually rose to a greater appreciation of the Sinhalese paraphrases and works auxiliary to the Theravāda Scriptures. The symbiosis of Pāli and Sinhalese, Indo-Aryan languages of different pedigree and in different stages of evolution—from the very beginning of Ceylonese literary activity down to Waskaduwe Subhūti, the friend of Childers and Fausball—necessarily appealed to that *Scandinavian* scholar of peasant stock, who never lost touch with his *patois*, feeling, and saying expressly, that standard Danish alone did not suffice for a full knowledge and mastery of the mother tongue.

"That Dines Andersen did not live to see his life-work completed is not to be wondered at. The task was immense, it required an extraordinary amount of time and labour, and he was no fast worker. His conscientious scrutinizing of the many problems, great and small, presented by the lexicographical work might sometimes give the impression that the work was not making progress, but there is no doubt that this caution was well-founded. In addition, failing health during his last years not rarely prevented him from putting forth his full working power.

"Dines Andersen's unstinted recognition of the contributions of others, whether in his own branch of science or in more remote fields, was a fine thing. He was never of the kind that seeks to assert himself at the expense of others. His modesty often showed itself in a touching admiration of younger and older colleagues; the contributions of the younger he sometimes regarded with a quaint mixture of timorous aloofness and warm recognition, while as far as his own predecessors and teachers were concerned his feelings were almost of a religious kind; men like Trenckner and Fausball were sacrosanct. This was by no means because he did not know the value of his own contribution; it merely expressed a reverent affection. These teachers had given him all that he required for his work, and he never felt a desire to attain to a more profound understanding of Buddhism by a stay in Ceylon, Burma or Siam, where the texts he admired and analysed as a grammarian were a living reality. He did not think he could learn anything there, and if we consider his nature, he was probably right. But this was undeniably connected with his limitations. To him the Pāli literature was, in the main, texts to which the method developed for classical philology was to be applied. The great Danish philologist J.N. Madvig was his ideal, whose methods he thought should be more rigidly applied in indology; Dines Andersen never really got beyond his youthful admiration of school Latin.

"Yet he by no means lacked understanding of the spirit and civilization which found expression in his cherished Pāli texts, and he could not in the course of years escape the influence of ideas expressed in these texts. He would say that in a way he felt both like a Buddhist and a Christian. This shows his sincere feeling for the religious values in the old texts, as well as his honest admission of the difficulty of accepting them in their historical, established form. Both sides are characteristic of his personal evaluation, while they also reveal his extreme caution. Realizing the limitation of his powers, he did not venture further than he could find a footing, and therefore he was able to contribute something excellent within the limits drawn by himself. As surely as Goethe's oft-abused words are true, that mastery reveals itself in limitation, Dines Andersen was a master."

POUL TUXEN

"It is regrettable that so great a researcher as Poul Tuxen wrote his main works in Danish, a language few outside Denmark understand," states Klaus C.F. Feddersen of Flensburg. "He had mastered English and German, but was firmly of opinion that one must write in one's mother tongue. He always refused permission to translate his works into any other language."

There are some thirty works to his credit—all in Danish. Of these seven deal with Buddhism. He was the first to translate the *Dhammapada* into Danish. It appeared with a long introduction and copious notes in 1920. His most important original work on Buddhism, which was published in 1928, was *The Buddha, his teaching, the Buddhist traditions and present-day Buddhism.* In another learned work he explains Nāgārjuna's interpretations of Buddhist philosophy.

Born on 8 December, 1880, Tuxen studied in Copenhagen University, where he succeeded his teacher, Dines Andersen, in 1928, as professor of Indian philology. Among the honours bestowed on him was membership of the Siam Society. He had been to India as a guest lecturer. His work on *The Position of Women in Ancient Indian Society* won him the gold medal of the University of Copenhagen in 1905. He died on 29 May, 1955.

"All his life he was a serious researcher in the field of Indian religion and culture," states Feddersen. "He was a broadminded man, although he wrote only in Danish and would not allow translations of his works. A kindhearted man, he will be remembered warmly by his pupils and friends."

CHAPTER VI

HOLLAND

> "Over great areas of the world it (Buddhism) still survives. It is possible that in contact with Western science, and inspired by the spirit of history, the original teaching of Gotama, revived and purified, may yet play a large part in human destiny."[1]
>
> —H. G. Wells

While other European countries such as England, Germany, France, and Denmark had begun the scientific study of Buddhism early in the first half of the 19th century, Holland entered the field of Buddhist research only in 1865, when the University of Leyden founded a chair for Sanskrit. But this delay was largely compensated for by the eminence of the scholar who filled the chair. He was Hendrik Kern, an unrivalled master of linguistic studies. The Dutch tradition initiated by Kern is continued today by J. W. de Jong and others.

A Buddhist organization called *stichting nederlands buddhistisch centrum* is in existence in Groningen, Holland. There is another Buddhist centre in the Hague. It is called the Buddhist Institute. It has a library and cells for meditation. Lama Anagarika Govinda (a German by birth), who professes the Tibetan form of Buddhism, and lives in Sanchi, India, is a promotor of the Institute, which follows more or less the *Mahāyāna* traditions.

There are some 150 avowed Buddhists in the Netherlands. They observe the Five Precepts and often practise meditation.

There is no dearth of books and periodicals on Buddhism which are read by Buddhists and non-Buddhists. The centre publishes an attractive monthly called *Saddharma*, which circulates among the Buddhists and others as well.

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[1] *Outline of World History.*

HENDRIK KERN

Born in the Dutch colonial possession of Java in 1833, Kern was familiar from his boyhood with Javanese and Old Javanese, both of which were full of Sanskrit elements. He studied Sanskrit under Professor A. Weber, the famous German orientalist. Kern was fortunate enough to live in an age when the study of Sanskrit was in vogue and when the need existed for a good scholar to head the cultural study of Java which the Dutch ruled.

Kern spent a few years in India before his appointment as Professor of Sanskrit in Leyden University. He possessed great mental energy which enabled him to do the work of four or five professors. He also found the time to translate numerous Sanskrit texts and publish them, besides contributing to the massive Petrograd Dictionary. Knowing an incredible number of languages, he was not only an outstanding Sanskrit and Pāli scholar but was also at home in the whole domain of Indo-European languages. Besides, his studies extended over Indonesian languages and the comparative study of the Malay-Polynesian group was initiated by him as well as the investigation of Old Javanese.

For long the honoured Dean of the Faculty of Oriental Studies at Leyden University, Kern left a number of distinguished pupils, one of whom, J. S. Speyer, succeeded him as Professor of Sanskrit, Leyden University, in 1904, and did splendid work in the field of Sanskrit Buddhism.

First to appreciate merits of Jātakamālā

Besides his numerous publications on linguistics, Kern wrote a history of Buddhism (1882-84) which was translated into French and German. His *Manual of Buddhism* came out in 1896 in the "Encyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan Research". A Japanese version of the Manual appeared in 1913. It is still profitably consulted by students of Buddhism. In collaboration with the Japanese savant, Bunyin Nanjio, he brought out an edition of the famous Mahāyāna text *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* (St. Petersburg, 1912), an

English translation of which was published by him in the Sacred Books of the East Series (Vol. 21) under the general editorship of Max Müller.

Kern edited in Sanskrit (Devanagari characters) one of the most important Sanskrit Buddhist works, *Jātakamālā* or "the Garland of Birth Stories", by the illustrious Sanskrit poet *Ārya Śūra*, who, according to Kern, lived about 400 of the present era. The credit for the discovery of this work, which belongs to the canon of the Northern Buddhists, goes to B. H. Hodgson, the British Resident-General of Nepal, in the years following 1828. His friend, a Pathan Buddhist monk, had obtained copies of it for him which he sent to England and France. The University of Cambridge acquired a copy. Kern was the first to appreciate the great literary merits of the *Jātakamālā*, and he planned an edition, availing himself of the Cambridge University copy.

This *editio princeps* was published in 1891 as the first volume of the Harvard Oriental Series founded by Henry Clarke Warren and Charles Rockwell Lanman the same year. "It has every right to bear the name of 'princeps', not only because *Ārya Śūra's* work has never been edited before but on account of the critical acumen and the untiring care of the editor, whose exertions have almost purged the text of the clerical errors and blunders which greatly encumber the Nepal manuscripts", states Professor J. S. Speyer in his preface to his English translation of Kern's edition of the *Jātakamālā*, published in London in 1895 in the Sacred Books of the Buddhists Series. "Thus, thanks to Professor Kern, this masterpiece of Sanskrit Buddhist literature is now accessible to Sanskritists in an excellent edition. I have undertaken to translate it as I consider it a most valuable document for the knowledge of Buddhism."

Superiority of style, loftiness of thought

The *Jātakamālā* contains thirty-four stories of the Buddha's previous births. "This composition consists, indeed, of verse intermingled with flowery prose built up according to the rules and methods of Sanskrit rhetoric ; it claims to be a florilegium, a selection of Jātakas, with the avowed object of rousing or invigorating the true faith in the minds of the reader ; and the stories are told at length", states Speyer. "It has perhaps been the most perfect writing of its kind. It is distinguished no less by the superiority of its style than by the loftiness of its thoughts. Its verses and artful prose are written in the purest Sanskrit, and charm the reader by the elegance of their form and the skill displayed in the handling of a great variety of metres, some of which are rarely to be met with elsewhere, and are sometimes adorned with the additional qualities of difficult and refined rhymes, and the like. Thus much for the philologist and the lover of Oriental literature."

"To the student of Buddhism," states Speyer, "it is the peculiarity of the *Jātakamālā* which constitutes its greatest importance. Although it is styled 'garland of stories', it is really a collection of homilies. Each Jātaka is introduced by a simple prose sentence of ethical and religious purport, which is to be illustrated by the story. The whole treatment of the tale bears the character of a religious discourse.... Our *Jātakamālā* has a right to be called a choice collection of such sermons, distinguished by their lofty conception and their artistic elaboration. It is a document of the first rank for the study of ancient Buddhist homiletics, and is for this reason entitled to a place among the sacred books of the East."

In the editor's preface to the English translation of the *Jātakamālā*, Max Müller states that "the edition of the Sanskrit text by Professor Kern is not only an *editio princeps*, but the text as restored by him will probably remain the single text." And it has remained so. Kern died in 1917.

CHAPTER VII

ITALY

> "Buddhism is a living religion—not only a living religion, but one that gives signs of a fresh vitality and impulse. The interest it arouses in the West is not merely scientific, but also spiritual : it appears that Buddhism has something to say in these troubled times when so many moral and religious values are collapsing."[1]
>
> —Giuseppe Tucci

Catholic Italy first heard of Buddhism from Marco Polo on his return to Italy in 1295 from the Court of the Buddhist monarch Kublai Khan. He spoke of Buddhism, among other things, but no one would believe him. He was sent to prison where he wrote his book of travels. No Italian appears to have evinced interest in Buddhist thought until the beginning of the present century. Of the earliest Italian scholars to make a study of Buddhism, two names stand out prominently—Giuseppe de Lorenzo and Giuseppe Tucci.

Italy's premier society of orientalists is *Instituto Italiano per il Medio Ed Estremo Oriente* in Rome. Its present president is the world-renowned oriental scholar, Professor Giuseppe Tucci. He has to his credit as many as 210 publications, and has been professor of religions and philosophies of India in the University of Rome for many years. De Lorenzo too had been a professor in the University of Naples. He translated the *Majjhima Nikāya* into Italian. Carlo Formichi rendered into Italian the Tibetan text of the *Buddhacharita*.

A few Italians took to the yellow robe in Ceylon, Burma, and Thailand. The best known among them was the Ven. U. Lokanātha who spent several years in Ceylon and died in Burma.

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[1] Foreword to *The Buddha and Five Centuries After* by Dutt. Luzac & Co.

A book on Buddhism by an Italian scholar, J. Evola, entitled *Dottrina del Resveglio*, converted two British army officers to Buddhism in 1949. They read this book when they were serving in the British army in Italy during World War II. Both of them became Buddhist monks in Ceylon. One of them, Harold Musson, translated the book into English and published it under the title of *The Doctrine of Awakening*. The other, Osbert Moore, who entered the order under the name of Nanamoli, became an erudite scholar and author of some outstanding works.

GIUSEPPE DE LORENZO

Giuseppe de Lorenzo was born in Lagonegro in Italy in 1871 and passed through all the stages of an academic career. From a lecturer at the University of Naples, he became a professor in 1905. As early as 1913 he acquired an international reputation as a geologist. His interests and abilities, however, covered an immense range which included an Italian translation of Schopenhauer's principal work and, in collaboration with Karl Eugene Neumann, the German Buddhalogist, an Italian version of the *Majjhima Nikāya* of the Pāli canon. He died in Naples in 1957.

GIUSEPPE TUCCI

Giuseppe Tucci was born in Macerata, Italy, on 5 June, 1894, and was educated at Rome University, where he was awarded the D.Litt. He fought in World War I. He taught at Rome University, first as instructor, then as associate professor, and finally as full professor of religions and philosophies of India and the Far East.

From 1925 to 1930 he taught Italian, Chinese and Tibetan at the Universities of Calcutta and Santiniketan. Prof. Tucci was elected a member of the Italian Academy in 1929. He has made six visits to Nepal, eight scientific expeditions to Western and Central Tibet, in partially unexplored regions. He was thus able to collect a vast quantity of historical data and artistic and literary material that he has used in a series of works, through the Italian Academy and the State Publishing Office. Since 1948 he has been President of the Italian Institute for the Middle and Far East. He has been the leader of Italian archaeological missions in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Iran. He is a Member of the Societe Asiatique of Paris, Royal Academy of Japan, the Academy of Sciences, Turin, the national Academy of St. Luca, the High Council of Archaeology of Iran, the Royal Asiatic Society, London, Corresponding member of the British Academy and of the German Archaeological Institute, Berlin, and Honorary President of the Asiatic Society of Argentina. He was awarded the doctorates *honoris causa* by the Universities of Kolosvar, Delhi, Louvain, and Teheran. Prof. Tucci was also the recipient of Gran Croce al Merito (Italian Republic), the Order Taji, Iran, the Decoration of Humayun II, Iran, the Honorary Order of the Sacred Treasure of Japan, the Rising Sun, Japan, the Order of the White Elephant, Thailand, the Ital-i-Imtiaz, Pakistan, the Star, Afghanistan, and the title of Desikottama of the Visvabharati University.

To Tibet in search of 2000-*year-old MSS*

His principal works are : La *Storia della Filosofia Chinese Antica* (1922), *II Buddhismo* (1928), *Pre-Dinnaga Buddhist Texts* *on Logic from Chinese Sources* (1929), *Indo-Tibetica* (Vol. 7 from 1932 to 1942), *Cronache della Missione scientifica Tucci nel Tibet Occidentale del* (1933-1935), *Santi e briganti nel Tibet ignoto* (a diary of the expedition of 1935), *Teoria e Pratica del Mandala* (1949), *Italia e Oriente* (1949), *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (three big volumes on Tibetan history, culture and art, 1949), Preliminary Report on two scientific expeditions in Nepal (1956), *Minor Buddhist Texts* (Part I, 1956; Part II, 1958), *Storia della Filosofia Indiana* (1957), *Tibet, the Land of Snows* (1968) and *I trono di diamante* (1968).

Prof. Tucci has also published numerous other works and articles in Italian and English on the religions, the philosophy, and the culture of the Orient, in addition to translations of Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese works. It was on the occasion of the Buddha Jayanti in 1956 that he brought out Part I of his *Minor Buddhist Texts*. The Greater India Society published in 1941 his *The Travels of a Buddhist Pilgrim in the Swat Valley* (Pakistan).

Prof. Tucci is in his 77th year, but is as active as a man half his age. He has been in the front rank of Western scholars of Buddhism for several decades, being an acknowledged authority on Tibetan Buddhism. He visited Tibet eight times, and on his eighth visit engaged the services of the famous Tenzing of Everest fame in his expedition to an unexplored region in search of a 2000-year-old manuscript written on the bark of a tree. Scholars believed it still existed but none had been able to trace it. Tucci was of opinion that it had originally been written in Turkestan, where Buddhism had spread at that time. His theory was that it had long ago been removed to Tibet and that it was deposited in an old monastery called Ghangar. The lamas of the monastery, however, knew nothing about it. It was ultimately found there among thousands of dusty old manuscripts. The lamas declined to accept any money from Tucci for the manuscript, saying that knowledge was not for sale, but given free to those who asked for it.

U. LOKANATHA THERA

Born in Italy, educated in America, ordained in Burma, and died in Burma, the Ven. U. Lokanatha Thera was a remarkable Buddhist monk.

A vigorous advocate of vegetarianism, he wrote a book on the subject entitled *The Crime af Killing* which remains unpublished. There he boldly declares : "Any religion that allows killing is false. And why? because it is impossible to kill with any trace of love left in the human heart. The first thing that dies in the act of killing is love. A religion which permits animal slaughter is based on Greed, Selfishness, and Hatred...How can you eat animals by killing them? Your love is in your texts, not in your heart. You tell the animals : 'Your death is my life !' I am a vegetarian Buddhist and I tell the animals : 'Live and let live!' Buddhism is the religion of boundless loving-kindness through renunciation."

Lokanatha was born in Italy in 1897. He belonged to the celebrated family of Cioffi. His lay name was Salvatore, which means saviour. He was brought up in an atmosphere of culture, and was educated in Columbia University, U. S. A., where he obtained his B.Sc. degree. He worked at the Cooper Institute and carried on biological and medical research at the Rockefeller Institute. It was this scientific training that led him to Buddhism.

He became a self-converted Buddhist and went on a pilgrimage to places in India sacred to the Buddhists. He was ordained a Buddhist monk in Burma in 1925. Thereafter he ardently propagated the Buddha's teaching in many parts of the world.

Missionary expeditions to Buddha-Gaya

As a Buddhist monk he returned to Italy but found the atmosphere there unfavourable to his religion. He returned to India on foot across Southern Europe and Asia Minor. In 1928 he was back in Burma. Lokanatha spent the next five years in deep study and meditation, his time being divided between monasteries and the Himalayan caves and forests. Strictly observing the thirteen *dhutangas* (the optional ascetic practices recommended in Buddhism), he emerged with a spiritual radiance around him in 1932. From 1928 to the end of his life in 1966, he imposed on himself the non-obligatory rule of sleeping in the sitting posture.

Lokanatha launched three missionary expeditions to Buddha-Gaya in 1933, 1934, and 1935 from Burma, Thailand and Ceylon, respectively. These expeditions aroused a great Buddhist awakening. It was Lokanatha who converted Dr. R.L. Soni of Mandalay, Burma, to Buddhism during the first of these expeditions. Subsequently Dr. Soni became a well-known Buddhist worker.

World War II broke out when Lokanatha was about to set out on a mission to the West and he was interned in India. Released after the war, he returned to Burma in 1946. In July of the next year the Buddhist Foreign Mission in Mandalay sent him to America on missionary work. The magnificent outcome of his mission there is detailed in his book, *Girdling the Globe with Truth.* On this mission he covered Singapore, Malaya, HongKong, Shanghai, Hawaii, England, and the Continent. He arrived in Ceylon in 1950, reaching Burma in March, 1951. After his return, he preached extensively in Burma, India and Ceylon.

Dr. Ambedkar's conversion to Buddhism

Early in the 1930s Lokanatha came into contact with Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. The correspondence between them reveals the wholesome and lasting influence the former exercised over the latter in favour of Buddhism. The final decision for Ambedkar's formal conversion to Buddhism was taken in 1954 when he was the guest of Dr. Soni in Mandalay where Lokanatha resided. Ambedkar showed a marked keenness to have Lokanatha in India to assist in the conversion of millions of Untouchables to Buddhism.

Donations for the world *Dharmaduta* work flowed freely to Lokanatha in Burma. He had planned for a world preaching tour in 1963-1965 which failed to materialize owing to his failing health.

Lokanatha will be remembered for popularising meditation in cemeteries and for the battles he fought with the British authorities in Burma before the war on issues such as separate wards in hospitals for monks and for the assignment of male nurses to attend on monks.

He died in his 69th year on 25 May, 1966.

The above account is based on an article by Dr. R. L. Soni in *The Maha Bodhi* of July-August 1966, and on *In the Hope of Nibbana* by Prof. Winston L. King.

CHAPTER VIII

SWEDEN

> "To read a little Buddhism is to realize that the Buddhists knew, 2500 years ago, far more about modern problems of psychology than they have been given credit for. They studied these problems long ago and found the answers also. We are now rediscovering the ancient wisdom of the East."[1]
>
> —Dr. Graham Howe

Little Sweden counts not many practising Buddhists, but she has evinced interest in the subject for quite a time. There has been much Buddhist research there since the end of the last century. The foremost of these researchers was Professor Helmer Smith, an acknowledged master of Pāli, Sanskrit, Prakrit, Sinhalese, Hindi, Burmese, and Tamil. Ceylon pays tribute to him more for his great service to Sinhalese, the language of her people, than to Pāli Buddhism.

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[1] Quoted in *Mind Unshaken* by John Walters.—Rider & Co.

HELMER SMITH

Modesty was the keynote of Helmer Smith's character and it often prevented him from publishing his ideas. He would, however, generously convey them to his colleagues orally or in letters, and many a scholar had occasion to thank him for his suggestions.

"He exercised considerable influence through the originality of his works and through the many suggestions he made to others," states Professor Hans Hendriksen, chairman of the supervisory committee of the Critical Pāli Dictionary being edited in Denmark.

"His greatest achievements were, no doubt, his Sinhalese contributions and his edition of the commentary to the *Saddanīti*. By them as well as by his work for the Critical Pāli Dictionary his name will be remembered for a long time to come," adds Hendriksen.

Born on 26 April, 1882, in Stockholm, Sweden, Helmer Smith took his Master's degree in 1908 at the University of Uppsala, a university founded in 1477. He became Reader in Indian Philology at the University of Lund in 1921, and was appointed Professor of Comparative Philology and Sanskrit at the University of Lund in 1938. He became a member of the *Societe Asiatique* of Paris in the same year, and a foreign member of the Royal Danish Academy in 1927.

Introduction to Indian grammarians

When Helmer Smith, with Dines Andersen, began in 1924 the edition of the Critical Pāli Dictionary, he had been active as editor of Pāli texts, and to some extent looked upon this work as preparatory to his lexicographical project. He had jointly edited with Dines Andersen the *Sutta Nipāta* in 1913 (new and revised edition succeeding the *editio princeps* by Fausball) and two grammatical texts, *Dhāṭupāṭha* and *Dhātumañjūṣā* in 1921. Between 1915 and 1918 he edited in four volumes the *Paramatthajotikā*. In 1925 he was called upon by the Pāli Text Society to edit the commentary on the *Yamakavagga* of the *Dhammapada*. And in

1928 followed the first volume of his monumental edition of *Saddanīti*, of which five volumes have appeared, the sixth and the last volume being in preparation by Dr. Nila Simonsen in Uppsala. The text itself is voluminous, taking up three volumes, and 928 pages. To this Helmer Smith added in the following volumes very important side-concordances to *Aggavamsa's Saddanīti*, and the works of other Pāli grammarians, indexes of words and quotations, and a chapter called *Conspectus terminorum*, but being in reality a detailed systematic account of the theories of the Pāli grammarians. The character of this chapter, remarkable for its penetration and precision, will easily escape notice, since the author, with characteristic modesty, has camouflaged it so well. It ought, however, to be considered an indispensable introduction by anybody studying the Indian grammarians.

His whole intellectual disposition qualified Helmer Smith for philological studies. His keen intelligence and quick comprehension permitted him to master languages and to surmount interpretative difficulties with exceptional ease. In Sanskrit, Pāli and Prakrit his reading was extensive : he studied a number of modern Indian languages and literatures, especially Sinhalese, Hindi, Tamil, Burmese. He was also an excellent classical scholar and possessed a very good knowledge of Old Norse language and literature.

Helmer Smith's editions bear the stamp of mastery as do Trenckner's Pāli publications. They are based on a broad examination not only of manuscripts, but also of parallel texts and commentaries in Pāli, Sinhalese, and Burmese. Besides, metrical studies are included as further correctives in establishing the text.

He enhanced knowledge of Sinhalese vocalism

The Critical Pāli Dictionary benefited by Helmer Smith's ability as a textual critic. Besides drafting articles, making excerpts from unexamined texts, and adducing Sinhalese and Burmese commentary passages, he saw it as one of his obligations in his dictionary work to give a critical examination of the quotations. He badly felt the deficiencies of a number of Pāli editions, and a great many of his articles contain important textual emendations. In this connection may be mentioned the valuable appendix to the first volume of the dictionary, the *Epile-*

gomena, which contains much bibliographical information not easily obtained elsewhere.

He spent several years in Paris where he became an intimate friend of J. Bloch and other French linguists and philologists. In 1926-'27 he gave at the invitation of the French Minister of Education a series of lectures on *Le Bouddhisms de langue palie* at the Sorbonne. A great deal of his time in Paris was devoted to linguistic studies and he was strongly influenced by the thinking of French linguists of the time. Helmer Smith did not study a language as an isolated unit, but saw it in its relation to other cognate and geographically adjoining idioms as a product of the interplay of foreign and native forces. In connection with his Pāli readings he began at an early date to study Sinhalese, and in 1930 he read a paper in the *Societe de Linguistique* of Paris, giving the solution to a much-discussed problem of Sinhalese sound history (see his article *W. Geiger et al vocabulaire du singalais classique*, *Journal asiatique*, 1950 p. 190). Characteristic of the man is the fact that certain features of Swedish led him to his theory. W. Geiger in the preface to his *Grammar of the Sinhalese Language*, 1938, has acknowledged it in the following terms : "By his ingenious observation of the influence exerted on the phonology by heavy or light syllables Professor Helmer Smith has considerably enhanced our knowledge of Sinhalese vocalism ....." It is typical that only in 1950 did Helmer Smith publish his views on Sinhalese in the above-mentioned article, and by then the result of his work was a fundamental contribution containing a wealth of observations and dealing with most aspects of the language, its affinity with other Indo-Aryan languages, its vocabulary (discussing influences from Pāli, Tamil, Sanskrit), phonology and morphology. It will remain an important source of information in all future research on Sinhalese.

Linguistic problems and solutions

Another weighty linguistic contribution is *Le futur moyen indien et ses rythmes* (*Journal asiatique*, 1952), where a new interesting explanation of certain Middle Indo-Aryan future-forms has been given. In a number of articles in the two journals of the *Societe de linguistique* from 1932 to 1935 Helmer Smith has treated other problems from Middle and New Indo-Aryan languages.

The series of three articles called *En marge du vocabulaire sanskrit des bouddhistes* contains observations on text-criticism, vocabulary, and stylistics of texts in Buddhist Sanskrit.

Through his editorial work Helmer Smith saw the importance of metrical studies for the establishment of the texts, and after 1950 he published several articles on the subject.

Helmer Smith's publications are not easily read. One has a feeling that they were written at a breath, the style is elegant, but condensed to the extreme, almost hurried. His way of writing reflects his lively, enthusiastic, but also nervous and restless mind. He could be rather sarcastic in his judgment of others. But everyone who has had the benefit of knowing this exceptionally gifted and witty man, remembers his lovableness and his unselfishness. If a certain shyness would often prevent him from publishing his ideas, he generously communicated them to his colleagues orally or in letters, and many a scholar has had occasion to thank him for his suggestions. To mention a few : J. Bloch in *L'Indo-aryan*, W. Geiger in his *Grammar of the Sinhalese Language*, and the present writer in the *Syntax of the Infinite Verb-forms of Pāli*. He was a prodigious letter-writer. This was his natural medium; here he felt altogether free and easy, and he would subject his friends to veritable bombardments with letters, small wonders of wit and learning, teeming with acute ideas and flashes of humour. Dines Andersen collected the letters he received from him and they are now incorporated in the library of the Critical Pāli Dictionary.

Even if Helmer Smith's publications, discounting the text-editions, were not comprehensive, he has nevertheless exercised considerable influence through the originality of his works and through the many suggestions he made to others. His greatest achievements were no doubt his Sinhalese contributions and his edition of, and commentary to, the *Saddanīti*. By them as well as by his work for the Critical Pāli Dictionary his name will be remembered for a long time to come.[1]

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[1] This is largely a reproduction of an article by Prof. Hans Hendriksen in Volume II of the Critical Pāli Dictionary, Denmark, 1960.

CHAPTER IX

LATVIA

> "It is a remarkable indication of the subtlety of Indian speculation that Gotama should have seen deeper than the greatest of modern Idealists."[1]
>
> —T. H. Huxley

With the conquests of Kublai Khan, the great Buddhist emperor of China, Buddhism went to the Baltic States in the 11th century. Since then it has been a living religion among the intelligentsia of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania. The interest in it was so keen there after the two world wars that translations of Buddhist texts were published in the Latvian, Estonian, and Lithuanian languages.

Kublai Khan created the office of a Buddhist Pope and appointed to it a Tibetan Buddhist monk by the name of Phagspa. The orders of the Buddhist Pope were treated with the same respect as the imperial proclamations.

This Pope appointed archbishops in capitals of the countries occupied by Kublai Khan. Althought there is no Buddhist Pope now, the custom of appointing archbishops prevails still in the Baltic States.

There are great Buddhist monasteries in the Baltic States where hundreds of monks reside and study and meditate. Most of them follow the Mahāyāna tradition. The church is an established one unlike the Theravāda discipline.

The picturesque monastery at Burkhutchinsky is not merely a centre of Buddhist learning but is also famous for its hot springs, rich in mineral salts. "In winter when violent Polar snowstorms with icy winds blowing from the Arctic Ocean, sweep through Siberia, the hot water collected in the swimming pools situated in the monastery provide wonderful relief to the sick and the feeble," states a disciple of Archbishop Tennisons.

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[1] Romanes Lecture, 1893.

ARCHBISHOP TENNISONS

His Eminence the Most Ven. Karlis A. M. Tennisons, Buddhist Archbishop of Latvia, was a picturesque personality.

He was born on 8 August, 1873, at Laura, in Livonia, the Northern province of Latvia, known in Latvian as Vidzeme, of a deeply religious family professing Buddhism for generations. His father was a wealthy landowner, ethnographer, and collector of folklore, and his mother a gifted woman of letters. They were greatly interested in the propagation of Buddhism in Eastern Europe, particularly in Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania.

At the age of ten he visited several countries with his father which widened his knowledge of the world. He was a bright student at school and could have distinguished himself in any profession. But deeply moved by the sublimity of the Buddha's teachings, he resolved to renounce the world in order to become a monk, and to attain Nibbāna. In 1892 he travelled East of the Ural mountains, reaching Transbaikalia, a Buddhist land of Eastern Siberia, which lies East of Lake Baikal and has a total area of 135,000 square miles, i.e. larger than England, Belgium, Denmark and the Netherlands put together. There he entrusted himself to His Holiness Mahāchariya Ratnavajra, a celebrated Buddhist prelate and scion of the Lithuanian Royal House of Gedyminas. He was a profound Sanskrit scholar and indologist. The Lithuanians gain mastery over Sanskrit in a very short time, for of all Indo-European languages, the Lithuanian comes nearest to Sanskrit. The Vedic Sanskrit was the language of the Lithuanians and Latvians of yore. Tennisons was ordained a monk on 8 August, 1893.

A Dharmadūta beyond the Arctic Circle

After mastering the scriptures, Tennisons began to preach the Dhamma in northernmost Asia, in the land of the reindeer and of aurora borealis. Undaunted by dangers and hardships, he spent several years as a *dharmadūta* beyond the Arctic Circle, preaching Buddhism to Eskimoes, Zyrians, Yakuts, and Samoyeds. In that world of snow and ice he had to move about in sledges drawn by dogs. Thus he carried the lofty message of the Buddha to reindeer-breeders and herdsmen.

In the reign of Dowager Empress Tzy Hsi of China, Tennisons made a deep study of the Dragon edition of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*, containing 1,666 books in 719 bundles and 7,174 volumes.

He was a witness to the Boxer Rebellion and the siege of the Legations in Peking in 1900. When the Russo-Japanese war broke out on 8 February, 1904, he was in Manchuria, engaged in humanitarian work for the Russian army stationed there.

Tennisons travelled widely in the steppes and deserts of Central Asia. Attracted by tales of the wonderful "dead city" of Kharakhoto, he crossed the Gobi desert, a vast tract of 1,500 miles by 40 miles, which was once a fertile land where Buddhism flourished. He did not shrink from the difficulties which lay in his path. He also visited the ruins of Karakorum, on the right bank of Upper Orkhon, the ancient Mongolian capital from which Emperor Genghis Khan embarked upon the conquest of the world.

During the first world war, Tennisons served as a Buddhist chaplain in the Russian army. He saw the battle of Tannenberg in East Prussia and the ferocious fighting at Przemysl in Austria. For excellent service he was awarded the Order of the White Eagle, the Insignia of the Chevalier de la Croix de Saint George, and Medal Pour le Merite.

At the end of the first world war, Tennisons was made Lord Abbot of the Tibetan Buddhist Cathedral Church at Petrograd, now Leningrad.

Sangharaja of three Baltic Republics

In 1923 Tennisons was appointed the *Sangharaja* of the Buddhists in the three Baltic Republics of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania, with the episcopal seat at Riga, the capital of Latvia, and was given the official title of the Buddhist Archbishop of Latvia.

On the occasion of the Buddha Jayanti, 1956, the Archbishop of Latvia, attended by his assistant and secretary, the

High Priest and Vicar for Estonia, the Rt. Rev. Friedrich V. Lustig, visited the Buddha-Gaya, Nalanda, Rajgir, Pavapuri, Biharshariff, Sarnath, Patna and other places sacred to the Buddhists, besides attending the Buddha Jayanti celebrations.

Tennisons was the author of several books, treatises, research papers, and articles on Buddhist themes. He was a regular contributor to international Buddhist journals. Just two months before his death there appeared his remarkable article, *Paranormal Phenomena in Classical Buddhist Tradition*, in the *International Journal of Parapsychology*, New York.

Archbishop Tennisons' life was an extraordinary one : so was his death. Looking through the hospital window at the waxing moon of May, he predicted his own death. He said to his chief disciple who was at his bed-side: "I shall not live to see the full moon of Vesak." And so it happened.

He died on the 9 May, 1962.

Forty hours after his death the staff of Jivitadana hospital in Burma discovered that "something miraculous had happened to the body" of the Archbishop. "The body had in no way decomposed in the sultry pre-monsoon weather of Rangoon. Soon all the doctors, nurses and followers were agog with excitement."[1]

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[1] Based on an obituary of the Archbishop of Latvia by a disciple, published in the *Mahā Bodhi* of June 1962.

CHAPTER X

RUSSIA

> "As a student of comparative religion, I believe that Buddhism is the most perfect one the world has ever seen. The philosophy of the Buddha, the theory of evolution and the law of kamma are far superior to any other creed."[1]
>
> —Carl Jung

Buddhism was first introduced to Russia in 1223 when the country passed into the hands of Genghis Khan, "the Greatest of Rulers, emperor of all men". But there is no historical evidence that the religion of the Buddha took root in the succeeding centuries.

"Russia under the Tsars was the first Western power to take a keen interest in Buddhism and in the monastic institutions of the Buddhists in Tibet, Mongolia, and elsewhere in the regions close to the Russian Empire, for many Buddhists lived in the Russian Empire,"[2] states the Ven. Nyānasatta Mahā Thera, a Czech-born Buddhist monk resident in Ceylon.

Academic interest in Buddhism was first evinced in Russia at the beginning of the last century, when in 1825 the *Asiatic Journal* carried a biography of the Buddha. It was the first of its kind to be published in the West. Since then Russia has done much to promote the scientific study of Buddhism. The foremost workers in this field of research were Vasilieff, Minayeff, Stcherbatsky, Oldenburg, and Obermiller. *The Bibliotheca Buddhica* series founded by Oldenburg in 1897 has published some thirty volumes. Stcherbatsky's monumental *Buddhist Logic* was published in this series. In 1960, a Russian translation of the *Dhammapada* was published.

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[1] Quoted in *Mind Unshaken* by John Walters—Rider & Co.

[2] *The Basic Tenets of Buddhism*—Semage & Co., Colombo.

First university for Buddhists in Europe

"In 1913 a monastery for the lamas was established at Nova Derevaya, a suburb of St. Petersburg, present Leningrad; and the first university for Buddhists in Europe was established in 1925 in Moscow, perhaps to win the young for collaboration with the new regime. A Buddhist temple was set up in Poland during the last years of the Russian Empire to meet the spiritual needs of the Buryat and Kalmyk Buddhists who served as soldiers in the Russian army in Poland up to 1918; the temple was situated in Warsaw near a mosque at Ksienzenca Street. A third lamaistic temple in Europe was at Belgrade, built in 1920 by and for the Buddhists of Asiatic-Mongolian origin, most probably the same Kalmyk and Buryats who as soldiers once worshipped at St. Petersburg and Warsaw temples, and then, after the defeat of the Tsarist armies, fled with the remnants of Wrangel's army to Yugoslavia, where they lived till the end of the second world war and then emigrated to America."[3]

There is freedom of worship for Buddhists in the Soviet Union. Ritual and ceremony are allowed as in the past. In 1962, a delegation of Buddhist monks from Ceylon headed by the Ven. W. Soratha Nayaka Thera, Vice-chancellor of the Vidyodaya University of Ceylon, attended some Buddhist ceremonies in the U.S.S.R. On his return, Soratha declared in a press interview that he was convinced that there was complete religious freedom in Russia. At the invitation of the Ven. J. D. Gamboev Bandida, Humbo Lama of the Cultural Religious Board of Buddhists in the U.S.S.R., another delegation of Ceylon Buddhist monks went to Bureat Mongolia in 1969 to attend some Buddhist ceremonies there.

Dr. Edward Conze has something interesting to say about Buddhist studies in the Soviet Union. Writing in 1951, in his *Buddhism: Its Essence and Development*, he states: "In the U.S.S.R. Buddhist studies seem to have petered out, although Russians had contributed much to Buddhist scholarship in the past. It may be that the mysticism of the Buddhists is not to the taste of the dialectical materialists."

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[3] *The Basic Tenets of Buddhism*—Semage & Co., Colombo.

TH. STCHERBATSKY

Of the Russian orientalists of the past, Stcherbatsky is regarded as the most eminent. Like de la Vallee Poussin, he had worked for many years in the field of Sarvāstivāda and Mahāyāna. A close associate of the great French orientalist, Sylvain Levi, he edited in 1917 the Tibetan text of the *Kośa* and its *bhāṣya* with the assistance of E. Obermiller. In 1920, he published *The Soul Theory of the Buddhists*, an English translation of Chapter II of the *Kośa*. He brought out in 1923 a learned treatise, *The Central Conception of Buddhism and the Meaning of the word Dharma*. "In this masterly work he established the fact that the theory of *skandhas* was an element of ancient Buddhism and the pivot of the whole doctrine."[1]

Stcherbatsky severely criticised de la Vallee Poussin's *The Road to Nirvāṇa* (Hibbert Lecture, 1925), where he propounded a novel view. In criticism of de la Vallee Poussin's work, he brought out his famous book, *The Central Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, which was "perhaps the last word on this most debated topic."[2] His "profound study of the *Kośa*, the *Mādhyamika-kārikā*, and the later works on Buddhist logic are closely reflected in this work, which gave for the first time a complete and constructive survey of the entire Buddhist philosophy."

"These treatises were followed by his monumental work, *Buddhist Logic*, in two volumes in 1932. It was the first work of its kind, exclusively based on the original works of such master minds as Dignāga, Dharmakīrti, and Dharmottara. In the preface to the first volume of *Buddhist Logic*, he observes: 'There is a widely spread prejudice that positive philosophy is to be found only in Europe. It is also a prejudice that Aristotle's treatment was final, that having had in this field no predecessor, he also had no need of a continuator."[3]

"The publication of these two volumes removed this prejudice against Indian logic to a large extent."[4]

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[1] 2500 *Years of Buddhism*—Government of India, 1956.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

CHAPTER XI

AMERICA

> "The most practical of Buddha's teachings is his doctrine of Goodwill. In one century or another this has proved an incalculable blessing to one people or another. So may it do again! Goodwill, beyond all else, is what the world needs just now."[1]
>
> —C. R. Lanman

At a time when there was hardly any interest in Buddhism in America outside academic circles, and despite a prevalent prejudice against religious tolerance, Dr. Paul Carus pioneered a vigorous movement to popularize the Buddha's teachings in the New World.

His first book, *The Gospel of Buddha*,[2] published in 1894, was a best-seller. It begins thus: "Rejoice at the glad tidings! Buddha, our Lord, has found the root of all evil. He has shown us the way of salvation." The book was widely translated and adopted in Buddhist schools in Ceylon and Japan. Until the middle of the present century it was a textbook in Ceylon Buddhist schools.

Paul Carus became editor of the *Open Court*, a journal founded by his father-in-law, the Chicago zinc manufacturer, Edward C. Hegeler, and opened its columns to the discussion of religion and ethics on a scientific basis. Buddhism filled many columns in every issue. Subsequently, the Open Court Publishing Company was started, and it has up to now published a large number of books on Buddhist themes, besides other works. His daughter, Miss Elizabeth Carus, is a director of the company.

He vigorously defended the Buddha and his teachings against attacks, which were so numerous, and some of them outrageous, that they provoked him to write in defence a book under the title *Buddhism and its Christian Critics* in 1897. He was indeed a doughty champion of Buddhism.

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[1] *Harvard Oriental Series Descriptive List*, 1935.

[2] Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago.

The Harvard Oriental Series

The founding of the Harvard Oriental Series through the generosity of Henry Clarke Warren was a great impetus to the spread of Buddhism in America. Warren and his friend and erstwhile teacher, Charles Rockwell Lanman, were the joint founders of the Series. Lanman, who was Wales Professor of Sanskrit at Harvard University, became its first editor, and carried on the work with the co-operation of various oriental scholars and published some forty books until his death in 1941. Walter Eugene Clarke, who had succeeded Lanman at Harvard, became the editor of the Series next. The third and present editor of the Series is Professor Daniel H. H. Ingalls of Harvard University, a well-known Sanskrit and Pāli scholar. In all some fifty-five books have been published so far.

The first book of the Series was *Jātakamālā* or Garland of Birth Stories, a Sanskrit Buddhist work by *Āryaśūra*, a Court poet of the third century of the present era. Edited in *Devanāgari* characters by Professor Hendrik Kern of Leyden University, it was published in 1891. Warren's *Buddhism in Translations* formed the third book of the Series. *Buddhist Legends* is the title of volumes 25, 29 and 30 of the Series. Published in 1921, these three volumes contain the English translation of the *Dhammapada* commentary by Professor Eugene Watson Burlingame of Yale University. The 37th volume of the Series was the *Sutta Nipāta*, believed to be the earliest Buddhist text. Translated into English by Lord Chalmers, it was published in 1932. Buddhaghoṣa's *Visuddhimagga* or the Path of Purity forms the 39th and 40th volumes of the Series. Edited by Warren, and revised by Kosambi after Warren's death, these two volumes, published in 1950, run to 638 pages. The Series expects to bring out shortly a critical study of the *Visuddhimagga* by Professor W. B. Clarke and Professor B.V. Bapat. The other volumes of the Series deal with religions other than Buddhism.

A notable contribution to Sanskrit Buddhist studies was made by Prof. Edgerton of Yale University through his *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary, Reader and Grammar*, published in 1953.

Bequests for Stanford University

Dr. W.Y. Evans-Wentz, who lived to the ripe old age of 88, was a remarkable scholar of Buddhism. He specialized in Tibetan Buddhism, and wrote a number of books on the subject. The nobility and magnanimous nature of his character is shown in his Last Will by which he left large sums of money and properties to Stanford University to establish chairs for oriental philosophy, religion and ethics, and for other deserving charities.

Col. Henry Steele Olcott was the first American to identify himself with the Buddhists of Ceylon. He was led to adopt Buddhism as his religion by the study of the newspaper reports of the great public debate that took place in Panadura, Ceylon, in 1873, between a redoubtable Buddhist monk of remarkable oratorical prowess, the Ven. Migettuwatte Gunananda Thera, and Christian clergymen headed by the Rev. David de Silva. The English newspapers of the day, particularly *The Times of Ceylon*, reported with banner headlines that Gunananda faced single-handed the combined forces of Christian orthodoxy, and vanquished his opponents. The controversy, which was initiated by Christian clergymen with the object of bringing discredit on Buddhism, boomeranged against Christian influence in Ceylon. An American physician had published the newspaper reports of the debate, and this book fell into Olcott's hands. Olcott arrived in Ceylon in 1880 and started a vigorous movement for the revival of Buddhism.

Persuaded by Olcott, Mrs. Marie Musaeus Higgins, widow of an American army officer, who was a teacher in a New York school, arrived in Ceylon in 1891, and started a Buddhist girls' school in Colombo which is today one of the leading schools in Ceylon. She was a great educationist, and spent 37 years in Ceylon where she died in 1926 at the age of 71. Musaeus Girls' College, Colombo, stands as a monument to her ability and industry.

Perhaps the first American to embrace Buddhism in New York was C.T.S. Strauss who later wrote a few books on Buddhist themes. He recited the Three Refuges and the Five Precepts of Buddhism in New York after the Anagarika Dharmapala of

Ceylon who had gone there in 1893 to represent Buddhism at the Parliament of Religions held in Chicago that year.

Dr. Dwight Goddard, an avowed Buddhist, disseminated the Buddha's teachings in America through his books, *The Buddha's Golden Path*[3] and the *Buddhist Bible*, a compilation of important texts from both the Theravāda and Mahāyāna sources. He was a frequent contributor to Buddhist journals.

The Golden Lotus—published for 24 years

A small group of American Buddhists, headed by John Roger of Philadelphia, conducted for 24 years a well-got-up monthly called *The Golden Lotus*, devoted entirely to Buddhism. Unfortunately, it ceased publication in December 1967. In its 24 years of existence, this monthly carried a great deal of important material. It was widely circulated not only in America but on the Continent and in the East as well.

More than a decade ago, Professor E. A. Burtt of Cornell University, wrote a splendid book, *The Teachings of the Compassionate Buddha*,[4] which had a wide circulation in the United States.

Prof. Winston L. King of Vanderbilt University, United States, a Christian theologian with strong leanings towards Buddhism, is the author of three outstanding books, *Buddhism and Christianity*,[5] *In the Hope of Nibbāna*,[6] and *A Thousand Lives Away*[7]. He and his wife practised Buddhist meditation in Burma, and he has expressed the view that "meditation is a scientific approach to religious truth."

Dr. Richard A. Gard, who has been a Buddhist since 1938, is a member of the U.S. Foreign Service. Before he joined the Service, he was a lecturer in some universities in America and Japan. He obtained his first degree in political science, but switched on to Buddhism later, for studies in which he was awarded his doctorate. He is the author of a book, *Buddhism*.

Dr. Kenneth Ch'en, a Chinese-American, of the Depart-

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3. Luzac & Co.
4. Mentor.
5. Westminster Press.
6. Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago.
7. Harvard University Press.

ment of Religions, Princeton University, an authority on Chinese Buddhism, has written several outstanding works on the subject, while Dr. Robert H. Slater of the Ecumenical Institute of Canada is the author of a good book on Theravāda entitled *Paradox and Nirvāṇa.* Much work in Tibetan Sanskrit Buddhism has been done by Dr. Alex Wayman, Program Director, Buddhist Studies, Columbia University. Dr. Richard H. Robinson of the Indian Language and Area Centre, Wisconsin, and Dr. Philip Yampolsky of the Department of East Asian Languages and Culture and Columbia University, have done much research in Chinese Buddhism.

Founder of Western Buddhist Order

Robert Clifton, son of a Christian Minister, was engaged in the propagation of the Buddha's teachings in America for a long period. At an early age he was so impressed by Sir Edwin Arnold's *The Light of Asia* that Buddhism became the dominant influence in his life. He entered the Order of Buddhist monks and spent some time in Penang. He founded the Western Buddhist Order and took steps to unite Buddhists of all sects in the U.S.A., Latin America and Canada as well as in Europe. Clifton synthesized a broad Buddhism common to all schools of thought. His efforts led to the formation of Buddhist societies in Washington, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, California, and Cleveland.

A few years ago the Rev. Boris Erwitt carried out a survey of Buddhism in the United States. It was sponsored by Dr. Kenneth Morgan, chairman of the Department of Religions, Colgate University in Hamilton, New York. The survey took Mr. Erwitt to a number of cities and towns where he contacted Buddhist groups and societies. He stated in his report that what particularly interested him was the Neo-Dhamma group in San Carlos, California, founded by Dr. Douglas Burns, a physician of the U.S. Army. The beliefs and practices of the Neo-Dhamma are, he states, closer to those of the Theravāda than to any other form of Buddhism.

Unlike most other countries, there are departments of religion in almost all American universities where Buddhism is a subject of study. Wisconsin University has set up a Chair for

Buddhism, while Washington University has just entrusted Dr. Edward Conze with a programme of Buddhist studies leading to the Ph.D. degree. Recently the University of Toronto, Canada, introduced Buddhism as a subject and has appointed the Ven. Dr. H. Saddhātissa, M.A., Ph.D., Head of the London Buddhist Vihara, as the first Professor of Buddhism.

Theravāda now growing in popularity

Buddhism in America was for a long time almost exclusively represented by Mahāyāna, for the Chinese and Japanese, who constituted the largest element among immigrants from Asia, belonged to that school. With the increase in recent times in the number of immigrants from Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, and Cambodia, and other South-east Asian countries, however, Theravāda has begun to grow in popularity.

There are several places of Buddhist worship in America. The incumbent of the Buddhist temple in Washington is a Sinhalese monk, the Rev. Dickwelle Piyananda. The services of Ceylon Buddhist monks have also been secured by the American Buddhist Centre in Roxburgh, Massachusetts.

What appeals to the American in particular is the freedom of thought and expression underlined in Buddhism, its invitation to the inquirer to "come and see", to investigate its doctrine, and to believe nothing until the inquirer is fully satisfied about the truth enshrined in it.

HARVARD ORIENTAL SERIES

"The Harvard Oriental Series was founded in 1891. It aims to make available for us people of the West the incomparable lessons which (if we be wise enough to maintain the teachable habit of mind) the Wise Men of the East can teach us. These lessons concern mutual goodwill as between persons and nations, repose of spirit by the overcoming of illwill and worry and hurry, moderations of our desires, the simple life, and above all, the search after God, and the realization—whether by reasoning or by faith—of the divine immanence," states Professor Lanman, the first editor of the Series, in a prefatory note.

"Buddha (563-483 B.C.) was the greatest teacher of pre-Christian Asia. His precepts and examples have been or are an untold blessing to India and Ceylon and the Far East. The West and the Far East have now become near neighbours. From the responsibilities and the consequent results of such neighbourhood there is no escape. Already, across the Pacific, there is at work an interchange of mighty influences that will affect profoundly, for better, for worse, the politics and literature and philosophy and religion and morals of both East and West, in short, the habit of mind of both hemispheres."

"The first league of nations, we are told, was the International Telegraphic Union (1865); and the second was the Universal Postal Union. A concrete example, say, of a universal tariff truce, if strikingly successful, might prove to be the most effective possible world-lesson. Such agencies of world-progress, involving for each member a partial surrender of individual freedom, are now many and various. Their logical outcome is a League of Nations of all Nations and a World Court and the outlawry of war. To make such outlawry effective, mutual distrust and fear must give way to a pervading spirit of goodwill."

Need for leaders and scholars

"For working out this miracle, we need everywhere, as leaders, men of action who can command the sympathies and enthusiasm of great masses. And behind these leaders must stand scholars who know what the best and noblest achievements of the East and of the West are, and who can bring them to bear upon the life and ways of thought of the West and of the East. The work of the scholar is in vital relation with the practical needs of today."

Much water has passed under the bridges since Professor Lanman gave expression to these noble thoughts, but the problems remain more aggravated than ever before.

Jātakamālā, the first volume published by the Series in 1891, contains remarkable stories of the Buddha's former lives. This work of Āryaśūra, a Court poet who flourished about 400 of the Christian era, was edited in Devanāgarī script by Hendrik Kern, the honoured dean of Dutch orientalists of Leyden University. A second edition of the book was published in 1914. An English translation by Prof. J. S. Speyer, Kern's pupil, was published in London in 1895, in the Sacred Books of the Buddhists Series edited by Max Muller. The Sanskrit *Jātakamālā* has been described as "a masterpiece, as to language and style and metrical form, of Buddhist literature of the Northern canon."

Warren's *Buddhism in Translations,* published in 1896, ran to nine editions, the last one in 1953. His material is drawn direct from the Pāli canon. It is this fact that has given his work an abiding importance and value. The translations have enjoyed a wide circulation in America and Europe, and about half of this work was included by the President of Harvard University, Dr. C. W. Eliot, in the *Harvard Classics,* of which a quarter million copies have been sold. Thus the usefulness of Warren's book has been incalculably enhanced.

Well balanced picture of Theravāda

"Warren's book remains an admirable introduction to the basic teachings of Buddhism," states Professor Daniel H. H. Ingalls, the present editor of the Series, in his preface to the 1953 edition of the book. "Buddhist studies, it is true, have advanced since Warren's time; many more texts have been edited and translated. Particularly this is true with regard to Mahāyāna with which Warren did not deal. But no one has organized this new material with the skill which Warren showed in dealing with the material available in his day. The picture of Theravāda given by Warren's selections is singularly well balanced. And his renderings have the special merit of being readable as well as scholarly."

"Warren's attitude towards Buddhism was neither of acceptance nor of disapproval. He disapproved of only one thing : the forming of opinions about Buddhism or India or of Asia at second and third hand. It was to help Westerners form an opinion of Buddhism that he wrote this book. And it is for the same purpose that this book is now re-issued."

Buddhist Legends, published in 1921 in three volumes, was an English translation of the *Dhammapada* commentary by Prof. Eugene Watson Burlingame of Yale University, a noted Pāli scholar. The *Dhammapada* consists of 423 stanzas which are reputed to be the words of Buddha himself. Its commentary, composed by an unknown author in Ceylon in about 450 of the Christian era, purports to present the circumstances in which the Buddha uttered each one of these stanzas. In doing so, the author narrates 299 stories. These stories are the preponderating element of the commentary.

The Buddha's Teachings, Being the Sutta Nipāta or Discourse-Collection is the 37th volume of the Series. Edited in the original Pāli text, with an English translation facing it, by Lord Chalmers, it was published in 1932.

The Buddha and the brahmin herdsman

"Apart from their venerable antiquity, the *Suttas* of the *Sutta Nipāta* are of import as Pāli poetry," states Professor Lanman. "Take for example the dramatic scene (1.2) on some Indian Rio Grande (Mahi-tire), where Gotama, now a Buddha, meets and converts the brahmin herdsman named Wealthy. The herdsman has worked hard and likes to tell that he is prosperous. The first two lines of his boasting are that he's well fed and well housed. The first he expresses by the phrase 'Done is my rice', *pakkodana*. The Pāli word *pakka*, 'cooked, done,' Anglo-Indian pucka, is common to this day in the sense 'well done, substantial'. His meaning is 'substantial is my food.' And for well-housed, he says 'My hut is snug with rain-tight thatch and cozy fire'. And adds, in smug defiance, 'so, if the heavens will, the storm may burst amain.' Gotama gives the herdsman a Roland for his Oliver, and answers in quiet dignity, but with a pun of age-long fame, '*a-kkodhano*, without anger am I. My roof's aleak. The fires (of lust) are quenched. Let the storm burst.'

Herdsman : '*Pakk-odano*, Done is my broth—My food is drest.'

Gotama : '*A-kkodano*, None am I wroth—My mood is blest'. And so on to the end, Gotama matches each wholesome joy of the layman's life with a higher joy of the spiritual quest. The storm bursts amain. The herdsman sees a new light.

"The Sutta Nipāta, taken on the whole, is the clearest extant picture of primitive Buddhism."

Buddhaghoṣa's *Visuddhimagga* or Way of Purity forms the 39th and 40th volumes of the Series. Edited in the original Pāli by Warren, and revised, after his death, by the Indian Pāli scholar, Dhammananda Kosambi, these two volumes, published in 1950, run to 638 pages.

Buddhaghoṣa—the St. Augustine of India

"Buddhaghosa flourished about 400 A.D. His *Way of Salvation* is an encyclopaedia *raisonnes* of Buddhist doctrine," states Professor Lanman. "There is a certain fitness in calling him the Saint Augustine of India. Both were men of majestic intellect and wide learning. Both were authors of works which for fifteen hundred years have maintained for themselves, each in its sphere, a place of surpassing influence. It is highly probable that Buddhaghoṣa was composing the *Visuddhimagga* at the Great Minster at about the same time as that in which (413428) Saint Augustine was writing *The City of God*."

Warren planned to publish a scholarly edition of the Pāli text of the *Visuddhimagga* in Roman characters, with an English translation, index of names and so on. Accordingly, he had the entire text of the *Visuddhimagga* copied out four times just as it stands in his four chief palm-leaf manuscripts, two in Burmese and two in Sinhalese. But he died before he could complete the work.

The rest of the publications of the Series were on the Vedas, Upanishads, Sanskrit grammar, poetry, drama, etc.

The Series expects to bring out shortly a critical study of the *Visuddhimagga* by Professors W. B. Clarke and B. V. Bapat of India.

HENRY CLARKE WARREN

"Henry Clarke Warren is worthy to be remembered, other reasons apart, for two things," states Prof. C. R. Lanman in a tribute to his memory. "He was the first American scholar (even now, after thirty years, unsurpassed) to attain distinction for his mastery of the sacred scriptures of Buddhism, a distinction now become worldwide. And again, with ample wealth he combined the learning and insight and faith to forecast the potential usefulness of such an undertaking as this Series, and did in fact give to Harvard University the funds for its publication."

Warren was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on 18 November, 1854, and died in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on 3 January, 1899. His family was of English stock that came to New England between 1630 and 1640. His father was Samuel Dennis Warren and his mother Susan Cornelia Clarke.

In his early childhood, a fall from a chaise produced an injury of utmost gravity. It resulted in a spinal ailment and in life-long physical disability and suffering. "This was all the more a loss to the world, because his intellectual endowments were of a very high order, and governed by a moral character which—by due inheritance from his father and mother—was uncommonly elevated and unselfish and strong. Shut out by his crippled body from many of the joys of boyhood and young manhood, he bravely set himself to make the most of what remained to him.

"He became an intelligent student of Plato and Kant, and the natural trend of his mind towards speculative questions showed clearly in his later scientific investigations of Buddhism. With all this went an eager curiosity about the visible world around him. We can easily believe that he would have attained to distinction in natural science, so good were his gifts of observation and well-balanced reflection upon what he saw.

One of the most generous donors

"The field of science in which he made a name for himself is oriental philosophy, and in particular, Buddhism, conceived, not as a simple body of ethical teaching, but as an elaborate system of doctrine.... In May, 1884, he went to England for a stay of a few weeks, partly to visit his brother Edward at Oxford, and partly to meet the Pāli scholar whose influence on the course of his future studies proved to be so large, Professor Rhys Davids.

"His name is on the first list of members of the Pāli Text Society of London, and among the subscribers for six years, and later it appears among those of the donors as one of the most generous givers." Even the slightest publicity of his gifts was unwelcome to him.

"Warren's bodily afflictions tended to make him of a shy and retiring habit. But the few who knew him well, knew him as a man of strength and tenderness. His ever-present troubles he never obtruded on others, but—by resolute will, I think—he studiously made light of them. In this he was helped by his native sense of humour. While working at the chemical laboratory at Baltimore, he burned his left hand severely with nitric acid, but he made fun of the unsightly scar, conspicuous on the back of his hand, calling it 'nitrate-of-Warren'. This sense of humour never forsook him, even to the end. Shortly before his death, a friend sent him some branded peaches, 'I can't eat your peaches,' said he, 'but I appreciate the spirit in which they are sent'. He had been accustomed, while at work, to stand up at a high desk, with two crutches under his arms to take the weight off his spinal column. Towards the end, even this was too hard, and he worked resting the weight of his trunk on his elbows while kneeling at a chair, so that the knees of his trousers showed hard usage. Perhaps in retort to some mild chaffing from me, he made answer, 'Ah, but when Saint Peter sees those knees, he will say, 'Pass in, Sir, pass right in'.

A life of simplicity and self-control

"During his last years, finding scant comfort in a bed, he had constructed in his house a little room like a box, closed in front with a flexible wooden curtain (like that of a 'roll-top desk'), properly ventilated, and with the heat regulated by a thermostat. And on the floor of this he slept. In general it may be said that, although, for instance, in matters of food and drink, ample luxury was at his command, he lived a life of simplicity and self-control. In the increasingly difficult matter of securing adequate physical exercise, he showed strength of will. His regimen is the more notable, because—as I think—it was dictated by the all-informing motive of struggling to make the most of his life for public service as a scholar. What that struggle meant is well brought out by President Eliot. Five or six days before Warren died, he asked Mr. Eliot to come over to his house. In writing of that visit, Mr. Eliot says: 'I was much impressed by his calmness, patience, and perseverance in intellectual labour under the most trying conditions. There was an heroic serenity about him, and an indomitable resolution very striking to me, who have worked hard, but only under the most favourable conditions of health and strength'.

"During the last weeks of suffering, Mr. Warren preferred not to have a trained nurse at hand, although there were in the house those upon whom he could call in case of need. I think he must have seen that death was imminent; but, realizing that nothing which his nearest of kindred and friends could do would avail, he chose to face the end with dignity, serene, untroubled, and without troubling others. Thus in his last hours no one was by, and so it chanced that an inmate of the house, going to one of his rooms at a little after midnight on the night of Monday-Tuesday, January 2-3, 1899, found him in a sitting posture in a corner of the room. Apparently, in trying to walk to and from the room, his weary body sank beneath him. And almost to the very end, he had toiled to make clear to the Occident the treatise of the illustrious Buddhaghoṣa, *The Way Of Salvation.* In Pauline phrase, he had fought a good fight, he had finished his course, he had kept the faith.

The Ven. Subhūti.....Lanman's tribute

"....One of the most pleasing features of his later years was his intercourse with the Ven. Subhūti, a Buddhist Elder, of Waskaduwa, Ceylon. This distinguished monk, whose great learning and modesty and kindness had endeared him years before to Childers and Fausball and Rhys Davids, was no less ready with words of encouragement for Warren, and with deeds of substantial services, especially the procuring of much-needed copies of the manuscripts."

Professor Lanman pays tribute to Warren in the following verse: —

"Long didst thou toil this rugged *Way* to clear,
Patience thine ax-helve, learning keen the blade,
Till sank thy weary body, comrade dear,
Ere thou the open and thy goal hadst made.
Hard by the jungle's edge thy task I took
To bring it — happy labor — to an end.
Now to the West great Buddhaghoṣa's book
And Eastern wisdom in thy name I send.
Full fifteen centuries, a man of might
This monk hath been unto the morning land.
Glad wouldst thou be that still his ancient light
Upon our modern candlestick should stand.
For well thou knewst that prophet, saint, nor sage
No chosen people for itself may claim;
That God's revealings, through each land and age,
In voices manifold, are ay the same."

The above extracts are from a Harvard University Press publication entitled : Henry Clarke Warren by C. R. Lanman.

PAUL CARUS

Born in Germany on 18 July, 1852, Paul Carus, the philosopher, was an American citizen. He was the son of Dr. Gustav and Laura (Krueger) Carus. He belonged to a family of distinguished scholars. His father was the First Superintendent-General of the Church of Eastern and Western Prussia.

Paul Carus received a good education in mathematics and classics at the Gymnasia of Posen and Stellin. Afterwards he studied at the Universities of Grelfswald, Strassburg, and Tubingen. He received his D.Phil. from Tubingen in 1876. He then became a teacher in the military academy at Dresden, but his liberal views brought him into opposition with the authorities and he eventually resigned.

In the early 1880s he visited England. From there he went to the United States where he settled down. "Of stocky physique and massive head, black-bearded, intense, and voluble, with a generous spirit and extraordinarily broad interests, he was an arresting personality," states the *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. 3. "He had worked through a devastating period of religious scepticism into what was to remain his lifelong philosophy. This consisted in a thorough-going monism of mind and matter, based on community of form and on the identity of the laws of nature and the law of mind. Philosophy, he believed, could be reduced to a science as objective as any of the other sciences. The philosopher's brain, he wrote, 'should work with the regularity of a machine.' While thus opposed in principle to all subjectivism, he believed that the religious aspirations of mankind could be satisfied with a scientific conception of God as the impersonal world-order, and a historical conception of immortality as the survival of one's influence. To the working out in detail of this philosophy, Paul Carus zealously devoted the rest of his long life. His auctorial energy was stupendous, his bibliography embracing more than 1,000 titles, of which over fifty were of monographs in book-form.

Open Court, a flourishing religious journal

"In 1887 the Chicago zinc-manufacturer, Edward C. Hegeler, founded the *Open Court* as a journal devoted to the establishment of religion and ethics on a scientific basis. Paul Carus contributed several articles and was then appointed editor. The magazine, first as a weekly and then as a monthly, flourished under his capable management. He threw open its columns to contributors, regardless of their previous prestige, and, with equal zest, entered into controversy with nobodies and with philosophers of established reputation. The interest of an idea, rather than its author, attracted him. His ties with Hegeler were drawn closer by his marriage on 29 March, 1888, with Hegeler's daughter, Mary," states the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

"Now Buddhism is a religion which knows no supernatural revelation, and proclaims doctrines that require no other argument than the 'come and see'," states Paul Carus, adding: "The Buddha bases his religion solely upon man's knowledge of the nature of things, upon provable truth."[1]

The criticisms against Buddhism provoked Paul Carus to write in its defence a book[2] denouncing the critics in trenchant language. Among the critics was Sir Monier Monier-Williams, Boden Professor of Sanskrit, Oxford. Paul Carus states that Monier-Williams' book on Buddhism "is marred by repeated attempts to belittle the Buddha." According to Monier-Williams, "the Buddha was unworthy of comparison with the Light of the World". But Paul Carus emphasizes that the Buddha "was at least one of the world's most successful teachers." Paul Carus continues to say that in spite of the Buddha's alleged unworthiness to be compared with Christ, "Sir Williams compares the two constantly; he does so in spite of himself, and all the Christians do so and cannot help doing so, because the comparison forces itself upon everyone who familiarizes himself with the lives of these two greatest religious leaders of mankind.

"The stone which the builders rejected..."

"If Professor Williams' conception of Christianity must be accepted as true Christianity," Paul Carus states, "Christia-

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1. *The Gospel of Buddha*, 1915 edition.
2. *Buddhism and Its Christian Critics*, 1897.

nity will pass away to make room for Buddhism. Happily, Christianity is a living religion, that having passed through the stage of metaphysical dogmatism, is still possessed of the power of regeneration, so as to approach more and more—though progress is sometimes slow—the ideal of a genuine catholicity. Those features which Professor Williams regards as the essential grandeur of Christianity are a most serious defect; and their absence in Buddhism indicates that it is the more advanced religion."

"For myself," says Paul Carus, "I must confess that I never felt like a true Buddhist before a perusal of Professor Williams' description of Buddhism; for I am now more firmly convinced than ever before that our Church Christianity can only become a scientifically true and logically sound religion of cosmic and universal significance by being transferred into that Buddhism which Professor Williams refuses to regard as a religion in the proper sense of the word.

"Did you never read in the scriptures," asks Paul Carus, "that the stone which the builders rejected has become the head of the corner?"

Paul Carus makes devastating attacks against other critics of Buddhism such as the Rev. Spence Hardy, Charles Gutzlaff, G. Voigt, and Adolph Thomas.

He criticised the great Pāli scholar, Dr. Hermann Oldenberg, whose interpretation of the Dhamma he describes as "based upon incorrectly-stated facts". He adds: "Professor Oldenberg has devoted his life to the decipherment of Sanskrit and Pāli, but he has failed to comprehend the significance of Buddhism. He has climbed over the hardwood of the doctrine of the Buddha without comprehending either its import or possible usefulness, and, presenting us with the foliage of externalities, assures us that this is the hardwood of Buddhism.

Towards the unity of all religions

"Buddhism is decidedly not nihilism, and Nirvāṇa does not mean annihilation," Paul Carus affirms. "Buddhism in its purest form is more than any other religion stated in philosophical terms, which, the more positively philosophical they are, will naturally appear to unphilosophical minds as mere negations."

Paul Carus was, however, not a Buddhist. His concern was to achieve the unity of all major religions. He wished in particular to formulate a religious philosophy which would combine the best insights of both Buddhism and Christianity. It was in this spirit that he wrote and worked.[3]

In 1890 Hegeler started the *Monist* as a quarterly to take care of the more technical contributions to the *Open Court*, and Paul Carus became editor of the new magazine also. Soon the reprinting of valuable articles led to the development of the Open Court Publishing Company, which, under Carus' direction, gradually enlarged its scope to include the re-publication at popular prices of philosophical classics, and the publication of new philosophical works and notable scientific treatises, such as those of Boole and Dedekind in mathematics, Binet and Ribot in psychology, and Mach in physics.

"Paul Carus exercised a wide popular influence on behalf of a more rational attitude towards religion and ethics than had hitherto been prevalent in America. His direct influence on American philosophy was curiously slight. In part this may be explained by the fact that philosophy, to its own loss, still tended to be the exclusive property of the universities which looked upon any one outside their fold as an interloper and were particularly scandalized by Carus' editorial independence, but in part it was also due to Carus' insistent rationalism which was entirely out of harmony with the pragmatic tendencies of the time. Essentially forthright and impatient of doubt, he underrated the epistemological difficulties of his realistic position, and, in his constant endeavour toward a synthesis, sometimes strove to unify really irreconcilable doctrines. The religious tone of his writings failed to reconcile idealists to his naturalism but sufficed to alienate his fellow naturalists. Nevertheless his philosophy was well founded on his theory of forms, and it must be considered as one of the most constructive philosophical achievements in nineteenth-century America," states the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

Among his many books are: *Fundamental Problems* (1889); *The Soul of Man* (1891); *The Gospel of Buddha* (1894); *De Rerum Natura*, a philosophical poem in German (1895); *Buddhism and Its Christian Critics* (1897); *Kant and Spencer* (1899); *A Study of Fallacies of Agnosticism* (1899); *The History of the Devil* (1900); *The Surd of*

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[3] *A Thousand Lives Away* by Winston L. King, 1964—Harvard University Press.

Metaphysics (1903) ; *Friedrich Schiller* (1905) ; *Chinese Thought* (1907) ; *The Foundations of Mathematics* (1908) ; *God: An Enquiry and A Solution* (1908) ; *The Pleroma* (1909) ; *Truth on Trial* (1911) ; *Goethe, with Special Consideration on his Philosophy* (1915) ; *The Canon of Reason and Virtue*, Being Lao-Tze's Tao Teh King (1913) ; *Philosophy as a Science* (1908) . He translated Kant's Prolegomena to any future Metaphysics (1902). Catherine Cook edited and published in 1927 a volume of his well chosen selections entitled *The Point of View.*

Paul Carus died on 11 February, 1919.

The author is indebted to Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, for the quotations used in the above account.

CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN

Among the American pioneers of Buddhist studies, Charles Rockwell Lanman occupies a prominent place. His contribution to Sanskrit and Hinduism, however, outweighs his services to Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhism. He may be described as the Max Muller of America.

The joint founder and first editor of the Harvard Oriental Series, he edited and published as many as forty volumes during his editorship. Of these, one of the most important is *Warren's Buddhism in Translations*. Another notable publication was the translation of the *Dhammapada* commentary by Burlingame. Yet another outstanding translation was that of the *Sutta Nipāta* by Lord Chalmers. Lanman was of great assistance to his friend and erstwhile pupil Warren in his Buddhist studies.

Born on 8 July, 1850, in Norwich, Connecticut, Lanman was educated at Yale University where he took his first degree in 1871, and his Ph.D. in 1875. He studied Greek under Hadley and Sanskrit under Whitney. Later, he also studied Sanskrit under Weber, Berlin, and Roth, and comparative grammar under Curtius and Leskien at Leipzig. LL.D. was conferred on him by Yale University in 1902, and the Aberdeen University in 1906. He taught Sanskrit at John Hopkins University (1876-1880), and was appointed Professor of Sanskrit at Harvard University in 1880. At John Hopkins he was Percy Turbull lecturer in Indian poetry. Lanman travelled in India in 1889 and acquired valuable books and some 500 Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts for Harvard. He was President of the Philological Association of America in 1890 and edited five volumes of translations for it. He was also a member of several foreign learned Societies, and President of the Omar Khayyam Club of America in 1921.

Lanman was the author of some thirty works, and was awarded posthumously one of the highest medals bestowed on foreign scholars by the Japanese at the Buddha Jayanti celebrations in 1956.

He died on 20 February, 1941.[1]

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[1] Some of the facts embodied in the above account are from the *Who Was Who* in America (1897-1942).

EUGENE WATSON BURLINGAME

An American scholar who in the early part of the present century earned a high reputation as a Pāli scholar and translator of Pāli texts into English was Dr. Eugene Watson Burlingame (1876-1932) of Yale University. His most notable work was the translation in three volumes of the *Dhammapada* commentary, published in 1921 by the Harvard Oriental Series.

In 1909 he studied under Lanman at Harvard. It was at Lanman's suggestion that he undertook the task of translating the *Dhammapada* commentary into English. He first made a table of contents of the work, giving the title of each story and the place of its occurrence in the Burmese and Sinhalese texts. He added an index to the titles and a good analysis of Books 1 to 4. This most useful preliminary work was formally presented to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences on the 8 December, 1909, by Professor Lanman. The manuscript of the article was delivered on 5 February, 1910, and published soon after in pages 467 to 550 of volume 45 of the proceedings of the Academy. The admirably elaborated manuscript of the entire translation of the *Dhammapada* commentary was delivered by its author on 10 January, 1917.

Life of ancient Buddhists vividly pictured

"In style and substance the tales of the *Dhammapada* commentary resemble those of the famous Jātaka Book, the Buddhist *Acta Sanctorum*, a counterpart of the legends of the Christian Saints. And they present many parallels to the well-known stories of mediaeval literature, Oriental and European. For the comparative study of such parallels, Dr. Burlingame's synopses, clear and brief, will prove a very great convenience. His vigorous diction suggests familiarity with such 'wells of English undefiled' as the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer. The work gives a vivid picture of the everyday life of the ancient Buddhists—monks, nuns, lay disciples. It is thus, incidentally, an admirable preparative for the study of the more difficult Buddhist books in the original. As especially attractive stories may be cited: Lean Gotami seeks mustard seed to cure her dead child; Murder of Great Moggallana; the Buddha falsely accused by Chincha; Visakha; the Hell-pot. A critical and historical introduction is prefixed. At the end is an intelligent index, modelled after that of George Foot Moore's *History of Religions*."

Burlingame was a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, sometime Harrison Fellow for research at the University of Pennsylvania, Johnston Scholar in Sanskrit at the John Hopkins University, and Professor of Pāli at Yale University.[1]

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[1] The author is indebted to the Harvard Oriental Series Descriptive List for the biographical details and quotations embodied in the above account.

W. Y. EVANS-WENTZ

Like several other notable Western Buddhists, Dr. W. Y Evans-Wentz too was attracted to Buddhism in his youth. At Stanford University, where he graduated in 1907, he was a serious student of religions and philosophy. Much time elapsed but his interest in these subjects never waned and he spent many years in the East, particularly in Tibet, coming in close contact with spiritual leaders and living a life of frugal simplicity although he had considerable means.

Born on 2 February, 1878, Evans-Wentz inherited a large estate from his parents who lived in New Jersey in the United States. After obtaining the M.A. degree from Stanford University, he proceeded to France where he was conferred with a Ph.D. degree by the University of Rennes. From France he crossed over to England and entered Jesus College, Oxford. He obtained the B.Sc. degree from Oxford for research in folklore. He then did considerable research in Christianity and Buddhism.

On his way back to America in 1922 he stayed a few months in Ceylon and gave a series of lectures on rebirth at Ananda College, Colombo. As a young journalist then, the author met Evans-Wentz on several occasions in Colombo. In his lectures he sought to prove that Jesus Christ taught rebirth. This view was hotly refuted by the Rev. Father M. J. LeGoc, Rector of St. Joseph's College, Colombo, and the Rev. W. J. Noble of Wesley College, Colombo. A heated controversy followed, lasting almost three months.

World authority on Tibetan Buddhism

Evans-Wentz spent many years in Tibet closely studying the Tibetan form of Buddhism, and when he went to Oxford again in 1931 the University of Oxford conferred on him the D.Sc. in comparative religion, a rare distinction.

He became a world authority on Tibetan Buddhism. Among his many works are *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*; *The Tibetan Book of the Great Liberation*; *Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines*; and *Tibet's Great Yogi Milarepa*.

Dr. Evans-Wentz, who died at the age of 88, left the mineral rights of some 5,000 acres to Stanford University, and directed that of the proceeds a Professorship be established for oriental philosophy, religion and ethics.

He left 650 acres to the San Diego Country Boy Scout Council to establish a rural centre for scouts, and 310 acres to the Y.M.C.A.

He also left 3,000 dollars in cash and some land in India to the *Maha Bodhi* Society of Calcutta as an endowment fund to assist in establishing a Buddhist centre in the Kasar Devi village of India.

He gave his oriental manuscripts and paintings to Bodleian Library of the University of Oxford.

Evans-Wentz died at Encinitas, California, on 17 July, 1965.[1]

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[1] Some of the facts embodied in the above article are drawn from the *Maha Bodhi* journal of December, 1965.

HENRY STEELE OLCOTT

Col. Henry Steele Olcott, who is remembered with gratitude in Ceylon for his magnificent services to Buddhism for 32 years, was born on 2 August, 1832, in New Jersey, and died in Adyar, India on his birthday in 1907.

He served in the U.S. Army. A brilliant scholar, an able journalist, he was a much sought after criminal lawyer. He gave up law, he declared, to serve humanity. He gave up even the land of his birth for the sake of the people of the East.

Olcott met Madame H. P. Blavatsky for the first time in 1875 at the Eddy Farm in New York. It is said that this meeting was of karmic significance. Madame Blavatsky's talks on oriental religions interested him a great deal. Buddhism was his greatest interest. Madame Blavatsky and he founded the Theosophical Society in 1875. Col. Olcott was led to Buddhism not only by Madame Blavatsky's talks but also by his study of the great public debate that took place in Ceylon in 1875 between Christian clergymen and a Buddhist monk of remarkable oratorical powers. The proceedings of this debate, reported at length in the Ceylon press, were re-published in book-form in America by a U.S. physician. Having read and discussed this book Col. Olcott and Madame Blavatsky decided to go to Ceylon in order to help in the regeneration of Buddhism.

They arrived in Ceylon in 1880, and on the very day of their landing in the seaport town of Galle, they embraced Buddhism in the Wijayananda Buddhist temple. Sangharakshita Sthavira, the British Buddhist monk, states: "If at the Panadura (Ceylon) controversy Christian fanaticism suffered its first serious repulse, the ceremony at Galle, where Col. Olcott and Madame Blavatsky embraced Buddhism, Buddhism scored its positive victory and this victory for Buddhism was won by the founders of the Theosophical Society."

The establishment of Buddhist education

There was at the time but one Buddhist school in Ceylon which a learned Buddhist monk, the Ven. Piyaratana Nayaka

Thera, had founded eleven years earlier in Dodanduwa, a seaboard area in the South of Ceylon. The Christian missionaries enjoyed the monopoly in education, and proselytizing of Buddhist children attending Christian schools went on apace. To counteract this, Olcott began to open Buddhist schools in all parts of the country under the auspices of the Colombo Buddhist Theosophical Society which he had started with the co-operation of Sinhalese Buddhists. Until the Government of Ceylon took over educational institutions for management by the State in 1962, the Buddhist Theosophical Society managed over 400 schools. The Ven. Piyaratana, founder of the first Buddhist School, was also a founder-member of the Theosophical Society, and gave much assistance in furthering its objects. In his diary Olcott describes Piyaratana as "a monk of erudition, energy and high character." The Theosophical Society exists to-date.

Col. Olcott formulated 14 principles in his famous Buddhist catechism which have been accepted throughout the Buddhist world. He persuaded the British government to declare Vesak day, the anniversary of the Buddha's birth, attainment of Buddhahood, and passing away, a public and bank holiday in Ceylon. He designed the Buddhist flag that is in use today.

He started the Theosophical movement in India, establishing its headquarters in Adyar, Madras. He was the first to organize in India an exhibition of Swadeshi goods to show Indians themselves the beauty of their own products. These handicrafts were slowly dying at the time because Indians cared little for them. He stimulated India's awakening long before Mahatma Gandhi did so. His work for India later led to the formation of the Indian National Congress, which obtained her freedom from the British. Mrs. Annie Besant, his successor as head of the Theosophical Society, was elected the first President of the Indian National Congress.

Col. Olcott's name is still a household word in Ceylon.

MRS. MARIE MUSAEUS HIGGINS

The name of Marie Musaeus Higgins is perpetuated in Ceylon by a leading girls' school she founded in 1891—Musaeus College, Colombo.

The daughter of a Chief Justice of Germany, Theodore Musaeus of Wismar in Mecklenburg, she graduated in Germany, and emigrated to the United States of America where she accepted an appointment as a teacher. She married an American engineer, Anthony Higgins, of the U.S. Army who held the rank of major.

Maj. Higgins died three years after the marriage. By then Mrs. Higgins had been a teacher in New York for eleven years. "After my husband's death there was born in me an unquenchable urge to live the rest of my life in the service of humanity through some noble enterprise", she said at a meeting in Colombo, explaining how she happened to come to Ceylon. "I spent my lonesome days wondering what I should do. It was indeed a miraculous coincidence that one day an American journal that carried an article about my deceased husband, published also an appeal signed by Col. Olcott from Ceylon for the services of an educated lady who would dedicate herself to the education and uplift of Buddhist girls in Ceylon. To me it was a message in answer to my daily prayer. Need I say that I decided to leave for Ceylon ?

From mud hut to a leading girls' school

"It is now 29 years since I arrived in your country. Not for a moment do I regret coming to Ceylon. Since I have no children of my own, it was easy for me to think of the Ceylon girls as mine own. There are today in all parts of this country girls who grew up to be women under my care. It is no surprise that I love and cherish them for the reason that I am myself a woman.

"I have come to think of my pupils as my own daughters. In their turn they look up to me as to a mother and they lovingly call me 'Sudu Amma,' meaning white mother. Now I have not only daughters but also grand-daughters. I am not only the

'Sudu Amma' but also 'Sudu Achchi' (white grandmother). I love to be treated as and called 'Sudu Amma !"

The school that Mrs. Higgins founded was first housed in a mud hut in a slum area in Colombo but it was soon moved to the residential part of the city, and in incredibly short time she made it one of the leading girls' schools in Ceylon.

Mrs. Higgins published early in her career in Ceylon a splendid story-book for Buddhist children—a selection of *Jātaka* tales written in the form of stories related by a mother to her children. The book was illustrated by the majestic stone reliefs from Borbuador in Java. It is a pity that this book has long been out of print. She was also the author of a history of Ceylon for schools.

Mrs. Higgins died in Ceylon on 10 July, 1926, at the age of 71. She has left a message to her present and past pupils which runs as follows : "My daughters, go forward to your destiny, go forward with courage, love your nation, love your native land, love your religion, honour your ancient customs and culture, wear your national costume, do not falter by the way of your life's mission, educate yourselves and serve your people."

DWIGHT GODDARD

An avowed Buddhist, Dr. Dwight Goddard of Thetfors, Vermont, was the author of *The Buddha's Golden Path*, and compiler of the *Buddhist Bible*, both of which were well-known publications. The latter work was first published in 1932, and a revised and enlarged edition of it appeared in Britain in 1956. It carries selections from Pāli, Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian and other sources, and an excellent summary of the Buddha's teachings. Dr. Goddard was a contributor to various Buddhist journals in the world.

He firmly believed in the efficacy of the Buddha's teachings to cure the ills of the world, and strongly advocated the adoption of Buddhism by the West.

WINSTON L. KING

A Doctor of Philosophy of Harvard, a Christian theologian, a Protestant clergyman for 12 years, a keen and sympathetic student of Buddhism for many years, Dr. Winston L. King is currently Professor of History of Religions in Vanderbilt University. He is the author of three thought-provoking books, *Buddhism and Christianity*,[1] *In the Hope of Nibbana*,[2] and *A Thousand Lives Away*.[3] The first work endeavours to bridge the gulf between Buddhism and Christianity. The other two deal not only with *Theravāda* Buddhism but also with contemporary Buddhism in Burma.

"The Buddha represents the ideal limit of manhood," states Dr. King. "Gotama achieved Buddhahood by his own unaided human efforts. He is not to be worshipped as a superhuman being or saviour or personally adored, but to be reverenced as the Supreme Wayshower. Truest reverence to him is to be expressed by following his way to salvation. Enlightenment is not the gift of unpredictable grace but the result of freely-willed energetic self-effort."

"Buddhism contains within it sufficient resources for a life of deep devotion and inner spirituality, the capacity for the achievement of true saintliness, and some sense of a luminous experience of the Transcendent.

To basic truths through meditation

"The basic and deeper truths of Buddhism can only be known at first hand through meditation. Most other religions have only hit-or-miss methods of cultivating the spiritual life by prayer and religious exercises. But in Buddhism there is a complete system of varied technique suited to all types of personality, which is available to any meditator who wishes to avail himself of it. In other words, meditation is a scientific approach to religious truth."[1]

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[1] The Westminster Press, Philadelphia.

[2] Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago.

[3] Harvard University Press.

Professor King and his wife, who is also a graduate, spent two years in Burma where both of them took a ten-day course in meditation at the International Meditation Centre in Rangoon. He has given a detailed account of methods of meditation and of his own experiences and those of his wife in his book, *A Thousand Lives Away*.

Born on a farm in Indiana on 30 August, 1907, King obtained his first degree majoring in philosophy, and then a master's degree in divinity at Harvard. He secured his Ph.D. in 1940 with a thesis entitled *Nature and Process of Religious Knowledge*—a comparison of the content and quality of the religious knowledge embodied in the *Theragātha* and *Therigātha* (Psalms of Elder Brothers and Psalms of Elder Sisters) and in the Old Testament prophet Jeremiah.

Dr. King first became interested in Buddhism at Harvard. Doctoral candidates were asked to prepare themselves in one field outside their own religious tradition. He chose Buddhism, and worked under Professor Walter E. Clarke, the well-known commentator on Buddhist texts.

Work and travels in Burma and Japan

His professional career has been a varied one. For years he taught mathematics and science at secondary school level. He was pastor of a number of churches up to 1949. During world war II he was Protestant Chaplain to the Combat Engineer Group of the U.S. Army in England, France, the Netherlands, and Germany. From 1949 to 1964 he was Dean of Chapel and Professor of Philosophy and Religion at Grinnell College, Iowa, in which capacity he conducted a course in world religions, attention being paid to Buddhism too. Since 1964 he has been Professor of History of Religions at Vanderbilt University.

King has travelled widely in the East. From 1958 to 1960 he was Senior Project Adviser to the Ford Foundation for the International Institute for Advanced Buddhist Studies in Rangoon. While there he served as liaison officer between the Foundation Office in Rangoon and the Institute, taught at the Institute and pursued his own studies of *Theravāda* Buddhism.

4. *Buddhism and Christianity.*

He was in close touch with monks and lay Buddhists, particularly the Ven. U. Thittila Sthavira. In August, 1960, he taught a Philosophy of Religion class in Ahmednagar College, India. From 1965 to 1966 he was Fulbright lecturer in Kyoto University, Japan.

He has worked out with great exactness six themes for a dialogue between Buddhism and Christianity, and they are carefully discussed in his book, *Buddhism and Christianity*.

E. A. BURTT

Dr. E. A. Burtt, Professor of Philosophy, Cornell University, is a Buddhist. He is the author of an excellent book, *The Teachings of the Compassionate Buddha.*[1] Published a decade ago, it has had a wide circulation.

What part can Buddhism play in the modern world? He poses this question in his book, and answers it thus: "When I look round the world, I am convinced that, now more than ever before, there is a great need for men to be made acquainted with the sublime teachings of the Lord Buddha," he asserts.

"Man can, in the Buddha's teaching, be sole and complete master of his destiny. This has tremendous political and social implications. It means that if we accept the Buddha's teaching, the world's problems can and must be solved by human ingenuity and human effort. The world is in a sorry mess because of our ignorance and our folly; if we mean to remedy the present state of affairs, the responsibility and the decision is ours and no one else's," he states.

Burtt states that "we live in a great epoch of human advancement. Buddhism has a very significant place in our time. The world awaits a comforting message of hope and cheer. What can be more comforting than to be assured that our problems, however serious, are not beyond solution by human effort, by our earnestness and sincerity."

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[1] Mentor.

MRS. MARY MIKAHALA FOSTER

Mrs. Mary Mikahala Foster, a wealthy American woman who embraced Buddhism in 1893, is remembered by Buddhists of Ceylon for her munificent gifts for the furtherance of Buddhist activities in Ceylon. The Maha Bodhi Society of Ceylon and India celebrate her birth anniversary as a mark of deep gratitude to her. Until her death she was patron of the Maha Bodhi Society.

She became interested in Buddhism through the Anagarika Dharmapāla of Ceylon, who represented Buddhism at the Parliament of Religions held in Chicago in 1893. Americans read with interest Dharmapalā's speeches there. From Chicago Dharmapāla sailed for Japan and on his way there his steamer called at Honolulu harbour. A number of Americans came on board to meet him. Never did he suspect that among them was a woman who was to become a future Patron of the Maha Bodhi Society, Mrs. Mary Mikahala Foster of Honolulu.

For seventeen years the Maha Bodhi Society had no permanent quarters of its own. Dharmapāla's appeal to Mrs. Foster brought him sufficient money to acquire a building in Calcutta for the purpose. For many years from 1915 she had given the Society £1,200 annually which Dharmapāla utilized for such Buddhist work in Ceylon as founding schools, the establishment of a printing press and a Sinhalese weekly newspaper for Buddhists.

Another donation she made, amounting to Rs. 60,000/-, was used by Dharmapāla for the establishment in Colombo of a hospital for the poor to perpetuate the memory of her father. It is named the Foster Robinson Hospital.

RICHARD A. GARD

The U.S. government has of late recognized Buddhism by the appointment of a Buddhist Affairs Officer to the State Department in Washington D.C. It is significant that the officer chosen for the post is himself a Buddhist, Dr. Richard A. Gard.

A practising Buddhist since 1938, Dr. Gard was born on 29 May, 1914, in Vancouver, Canada, but he is a U.S. citizen by parentage. He was educated at Washington University where he obtained his first degree in political science. The University of Hawaii conferred on him the M.A. degree in Chinese philosophy on a thesis entitled *Tao Teh Ching*. Thereafter he engaged himself in research in Japanese thought and Buddhism under Prof. Junjiro in Tokyo University. He then proceeded to Pennsylvania University where he did research in Chinese thought and Buddhism. He was Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai Research Fellow in Tokyo University, and Rockefeller Foundation Research Fellow in Pennsylvania University.

Dr. Gard has had much teaching experience in several universities in the United States, Japan, Burma, and Thailand. As a visiting Professor of Yale University, he lectured on *Theravāda* Buddhism and Buddhist political and social thought at Pennsylvania University. He was a lecturer at Kyoto Women's University in Buddhist studies. He also lectured on Buddhist research methods at the International Institute for Advanced Buddhist Studies in Rangoon.

He obtained his doctorate at Claremont Graduate School, California. He is a member of some dozen learned societies. He has received the Thai *Theravāda* award, the Burmese *Theravāda* award, and the Japanese *Jodo-shu* award. He has travelled in 29 countries.

KENNETH K. S. CH'EN

Of the modern American contributors to Buddhism, an American-Chinese occupies a high place. He is Dr. Kenneth K. S. Ch'en, Professor of Buddhism and Oriental Languages, Princeton University, New Jersey.

He is the author of a 12-dollar work entitled *Buddhism in China, a Historical Survey*, which the American Oriental Society describes as "one that fills a yawning gap."

Born in Honolulu, Hawaii, in 1907, Ch'en was educated at University of Hawaii, Yenching University, Peking, California University, and Harvard University. He obtained his Ph.D. at Harvard, majoring in Buddhism and Indic Philology. He taught in Hawaii, at Yenching, California, and Harvard before he became a Professor at Princeton University.

At Princeton, he teaches *Theravāda* and *Mahāyāna* Buddhism. He is a member of the Association for Asian Studies, the American Oriental Society, and the American Society for the Study of Religion. He was awarded the Guggenheim Memorial Fellowship and the Fulbright Research Fellowship in 1964-'65.

His book, *Buddhism in China*, deals with the development of Buddhism from its introduction there during the Han Dynasty down to the People's Republic of China, with major emphasis on the interaction between Buddhism and Chinese culture, and the role of Buddhism in various aspects of Chinese life. The history of Buddhism through the T'ang dynasty is treated in great detail.

Buddhism, The Light of Asia (Barron's Educational Series, New York, 1968) is another outstanding work by Ch'en. This book deals with the origin of Buddhism in India and its spread to South-east Asia, Tibet, China, Mongolia, and Japan. Separate chapters are devoted to *Theravāda, Mahāyāna,* Buddhist literature, Buddhist art, Buddhist ceremonies and festivals.

Among his numerous articles in learned journals is a comparative study of the *Svagata* and *Mendaka* stories in the *Divyāvadāna*, published in the *Harvard Journal* in which the

Sanskrit, Pāli, Tibetan, and Chinese versions of the stories are analysed. The economic factors behind the large-scale persecutions of Buddhism of 845 of the Christian era are dealt with in other articles by him in the *Harvard Journal*.

MAXWELL SOMMERVILLE

Prof. Maxwell Sommerville of California University was an early writer on Buddhism in the United States. He spent a holiday in Siam, present Thailand, in 1897, and on his return home wrote a book, *Siam on the Neinan*, which at the time created no little interest in the English-speaking world.

He stated there : "The paramount principles pervading the entire system of the Buddhist religion are self-abnegation, meditation and obedience to a code which any Christian might endorse : a code of morals which, if strictly observed in Christian countries, would elevate society to a higher standard than has been reached under all our boasted religious culture. That code is a garden of spiritual flowers whose odour is the beauty of holiness, and from which we will cull only so many as will give a fair idea of the chaste, honest, ennobling sentiments which are, and have been for centuries, distilled into the hearts and minds of a people whom American Christians designate as heathen."

APPENDIX

The magnitude of the work done by the Pāli Text Society up to 1969 may be gauged from the following list of publications :—

Editions of texts : *Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha* T.W. Rhys Davids (Journal 1884) ; *Anāgata-Vaṁsa* J. Minayeff (Journal 1886) ; *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, vol. I, R. Morris (1885), 2nd ed. 1961 ; *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, vol. II, R. Morris (1888). revised reprint, 1956 ; *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, vol. III, E. Hardy, (1895), reprint, 1959; *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, vol. IV, E. Hardy (1899), reprint, 1959; *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, vol. V, E. Hardy (1900), reprint, 1959; *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, vol. VI (Indexes), M. Hunt and Mrs. Rhys Davids (1910), reprint, 1959 ; *Apadāna*, vol. I, M.E. Lilley (1925) ; *Apadāna*, vol. II, M.E. Lilley (1927) ; *Apadāna Commentary*, C. E. Godakumbura (1954) ; *Atthasāliṇī*, E. Muller (1897) ; *Ayaranga*, H. Jacobi (1882) ; *Buddhadatta's Manuals*, vol. I, A.P. Buddhadatta (1915) ; *Buddhadatta's Manuals*, vol. II, A.P. Buddhadatta (1927) ; *Cariyāpiṭaka* together with *Buddhavaṁsa*, R. Morris (1882) ; *Cariyāpiṭaka Commentary*, D. L. Barus (1939) ; *Cha-kesa-dhātu-vaṁsa*, J. Minayeff (Journal 1885) ; *Culavaṁsa*, vol. I, W. Geiger (1926) ; *Culavaṁsa*, vol. II, W. Geiger (1927) ; *Dāṭhavaṁsa*, T.W. Rhys Davids (Journal 1884) ; *Dhammapada*, Suriyagoda Sumangala (1914) ; *Dhammapada Commentary*, vol. I, Part 1, H.C. Norman (1906) ; *Dhammapada Commentary*, vol. I, H.C. Norman ; *Dhammapada Commentary*, vol. II, H.C. Norman (1911) ; *Dhammapada Commentary*, vol. III, H.C. Norman (1912) ; *Dhammapada Commentary*, vol. IV, H.C. Norman (1914) ; *Dhammapada Commentary*, vol. V, (Indexes), L.S. Tailang (1915) ; *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, E. Muller (1885) ; *Dhātukathā*, E.R. Gooneratne (1892), revised reprint, 1963 ; *Dīgha-Nikāya* vol. I, T.W. Rhys Davids, J.E. Carpenter (1889), reprint 1967 ; *Dīgha-Nikāya*, vol. II, T.W. Rhys Davids, J.E. Carpenter (1903), reprint, 1967 ; *Dīgha-Nikāya*, vol. III, J.E. Carpenter (1910), reprint, 1960 ; *Duka-patthana*, Mrs. Rhys Davids (1906); *Gandhavaṁsa*, J. Minayeff (Journal 1886) ; *Hatthavanagallavihāra-vaṁsa*, C.E. Godakumbura (1957); *Itivuttaka*, E. Windisch

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पुस्तकालय ★ डाक्टर

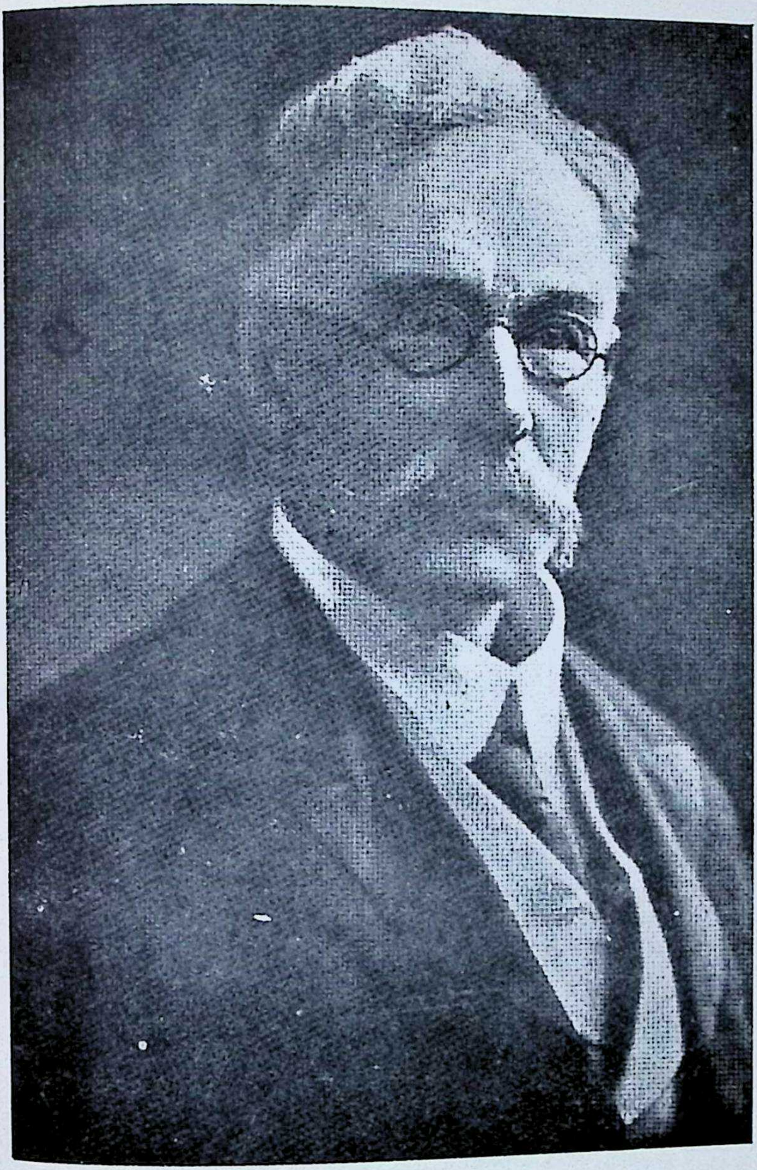

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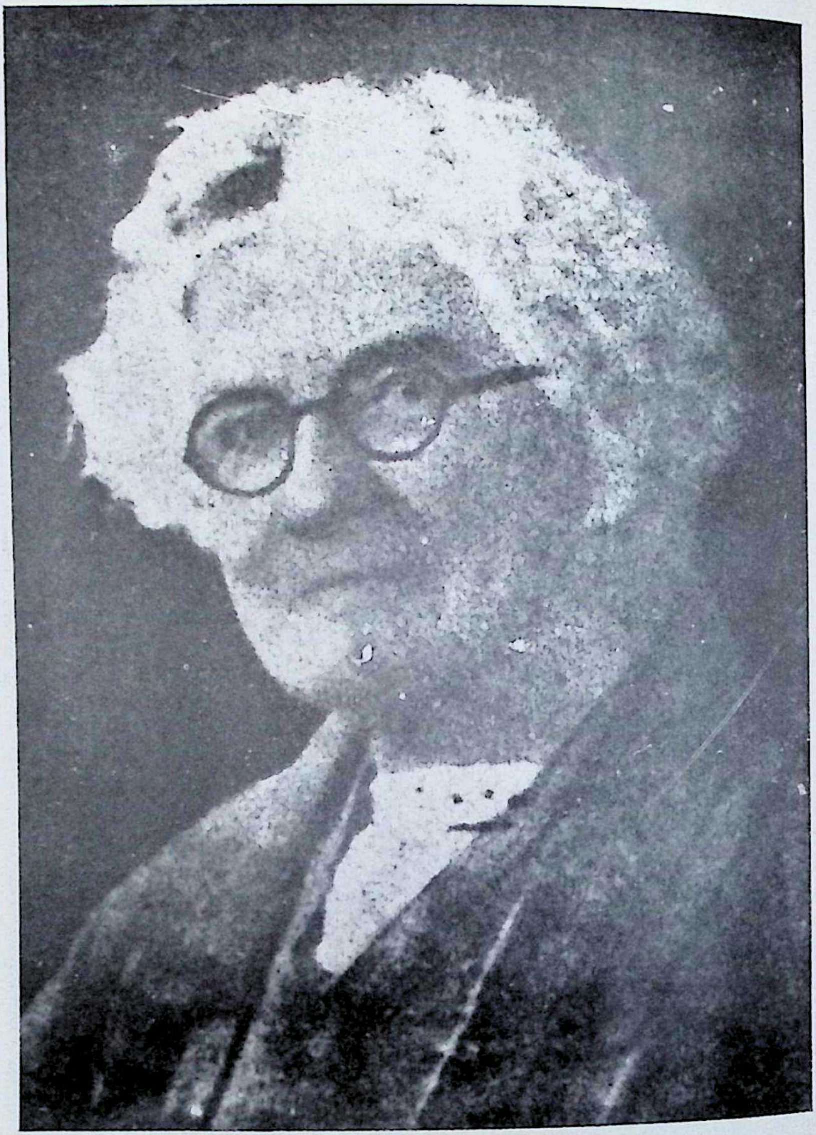
PLATE NO. 2



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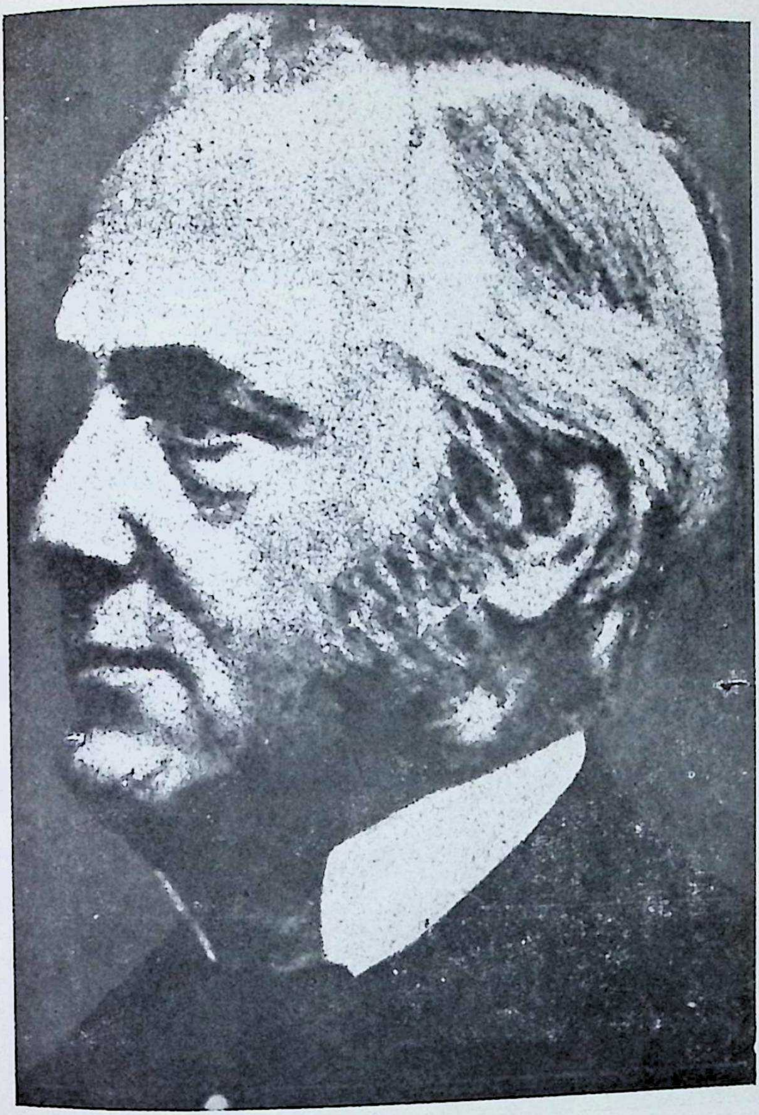

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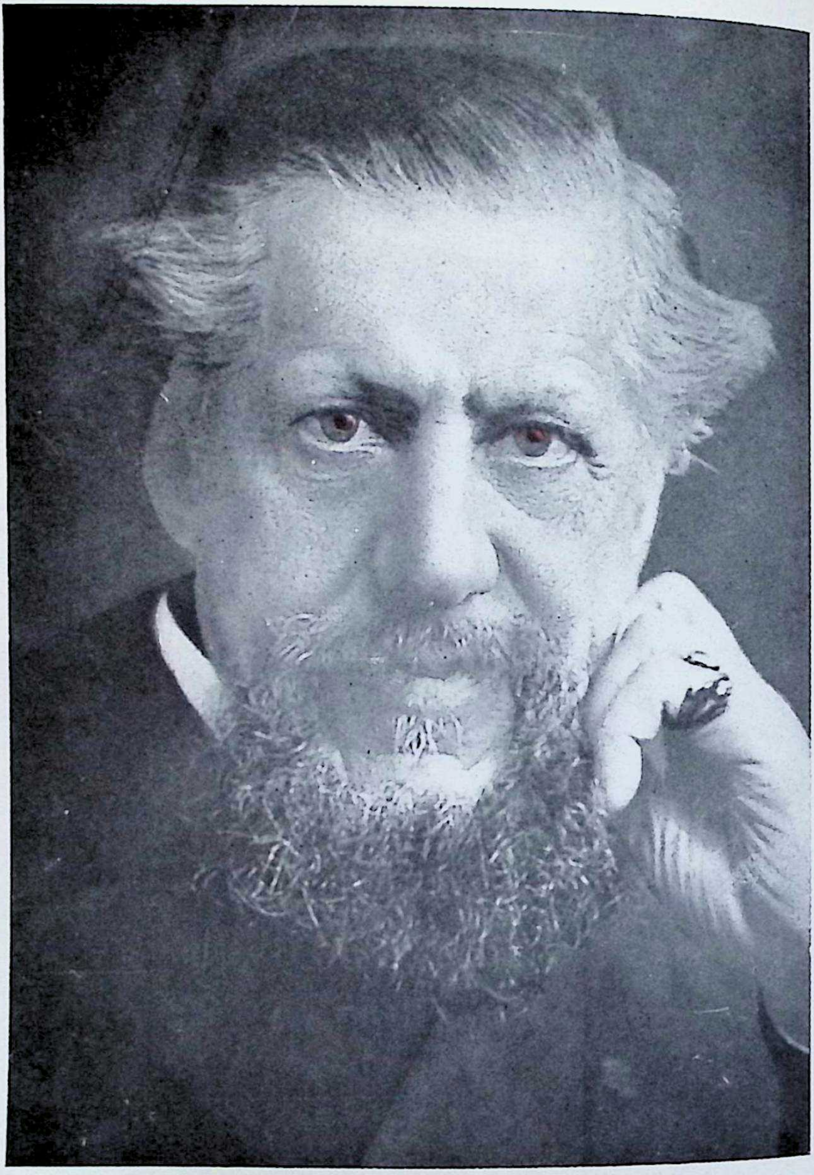
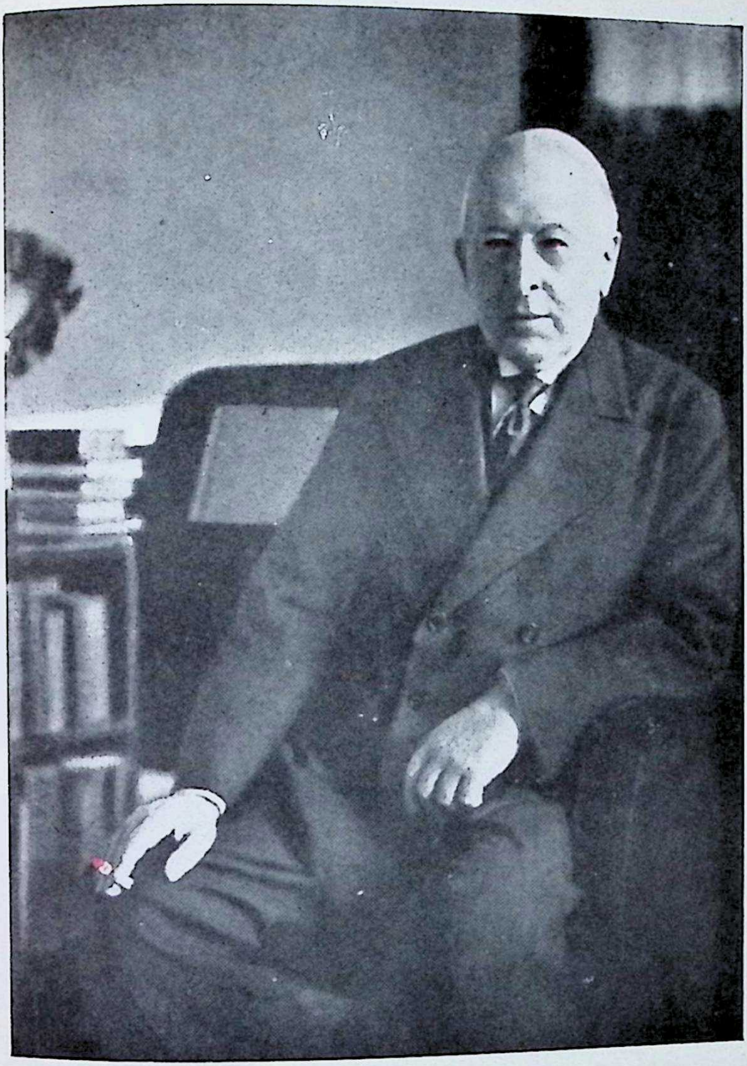


Sir Edwin Arnold (P. 31)



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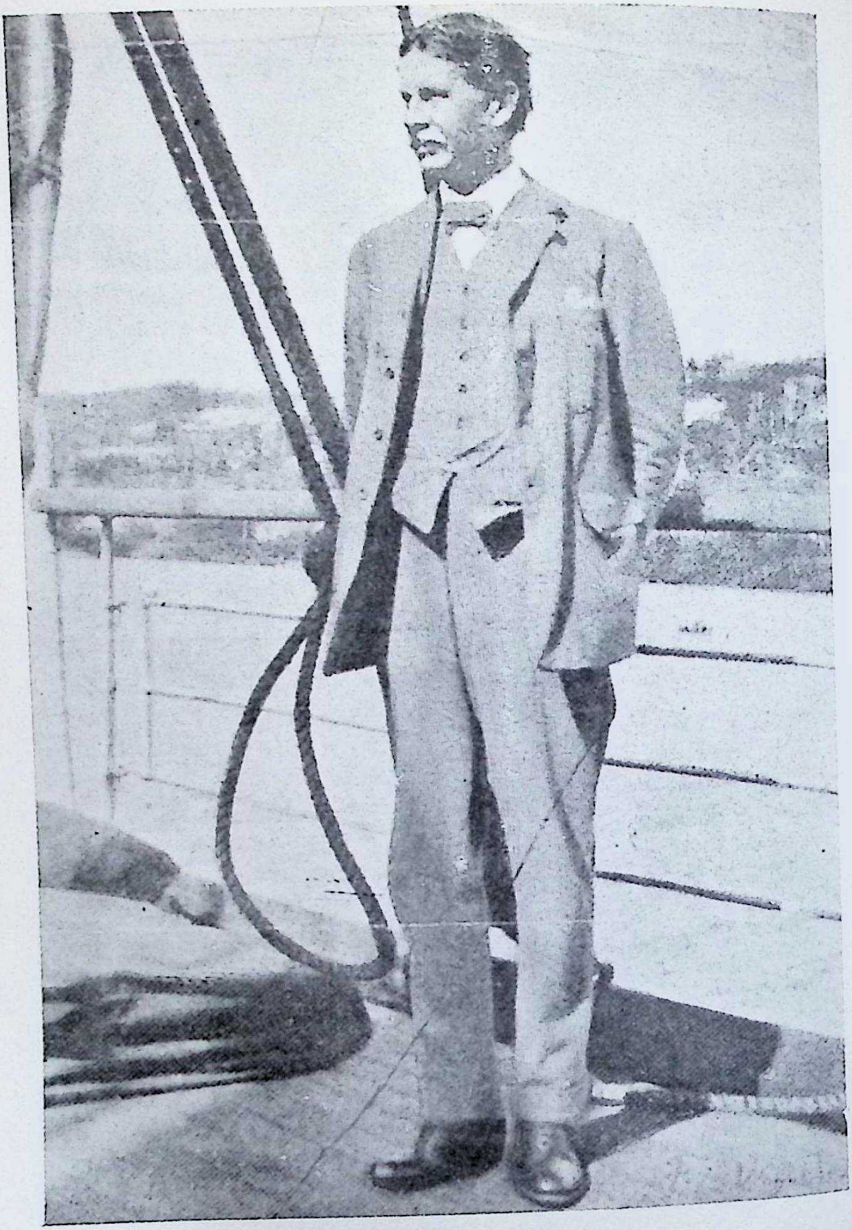

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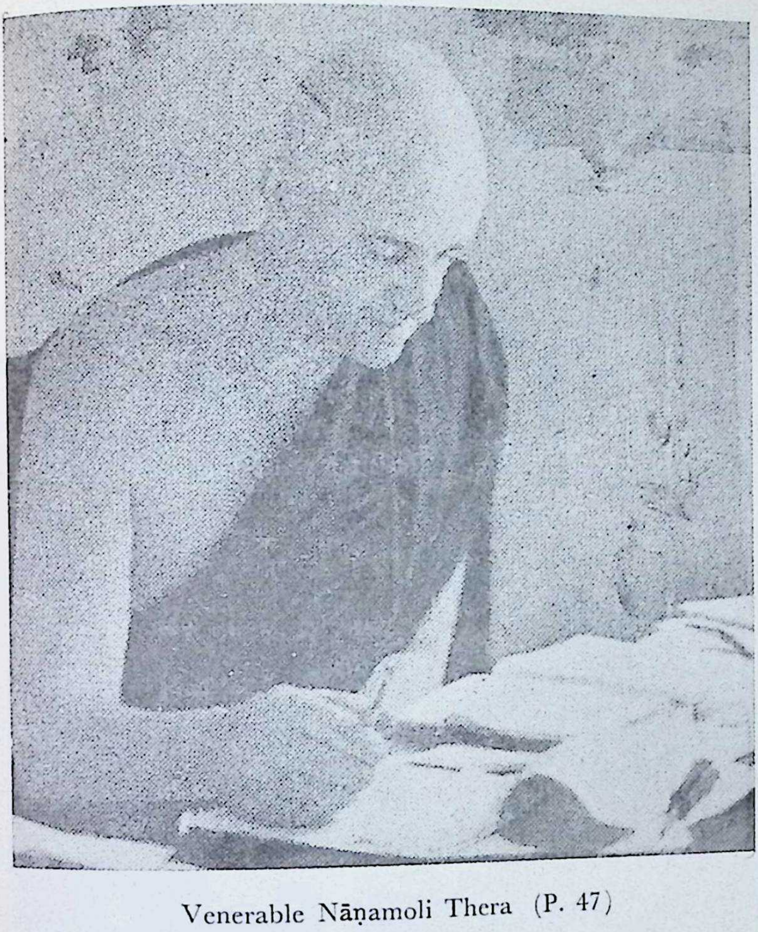

Venerable Ñāṇamoli Thera (P. 47)

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E. J. Thomas (P. 49)

Miss I. B. Horner (P. 56)

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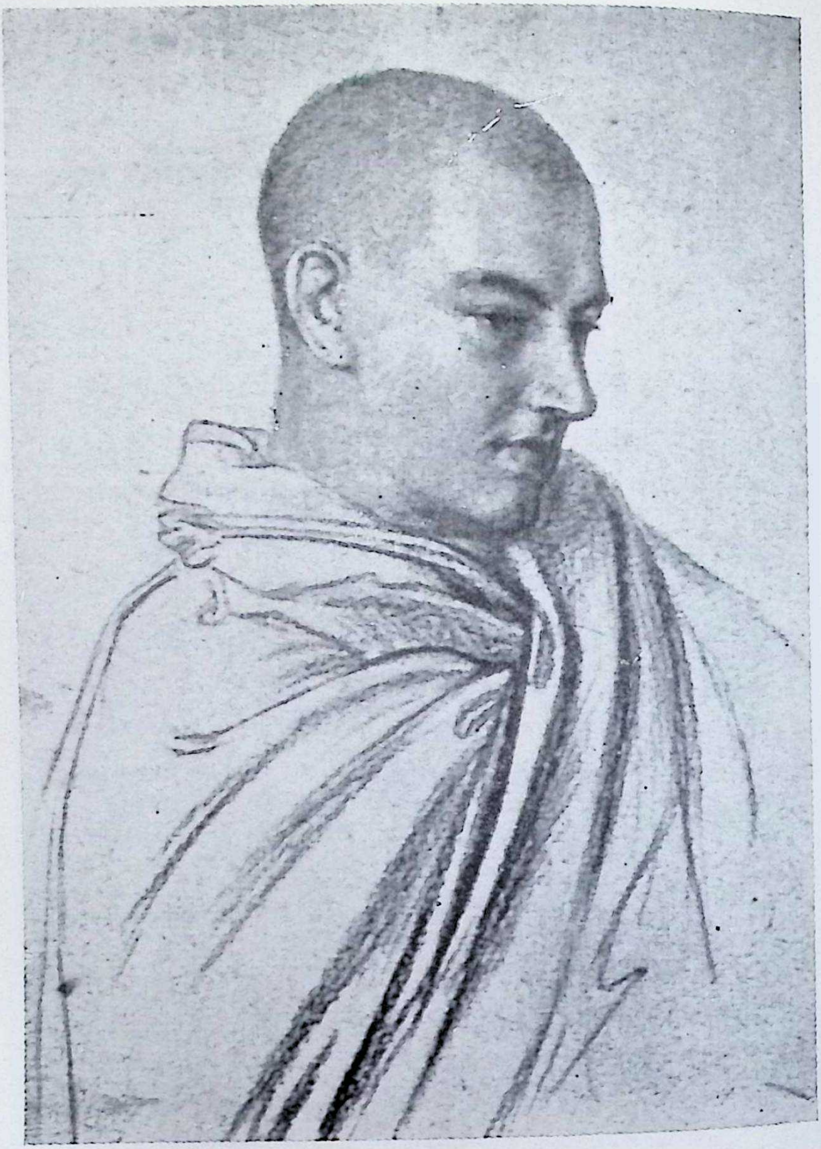

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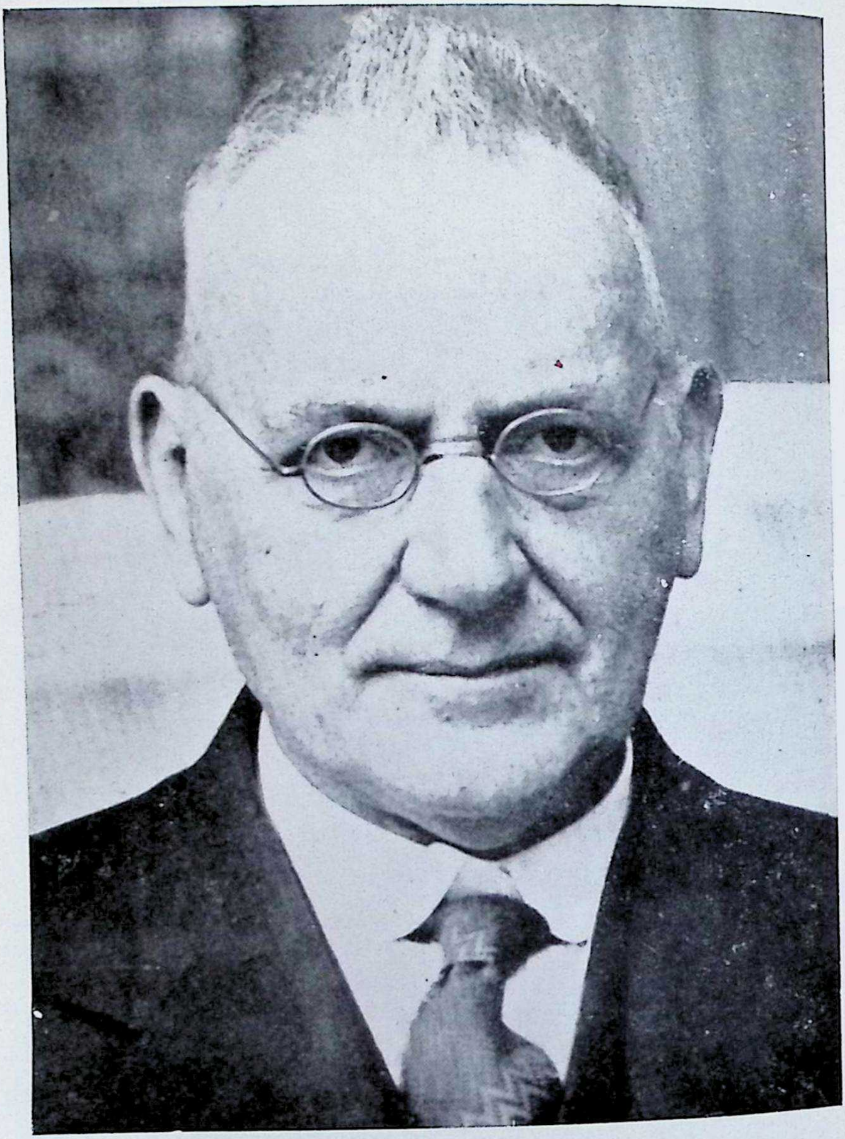

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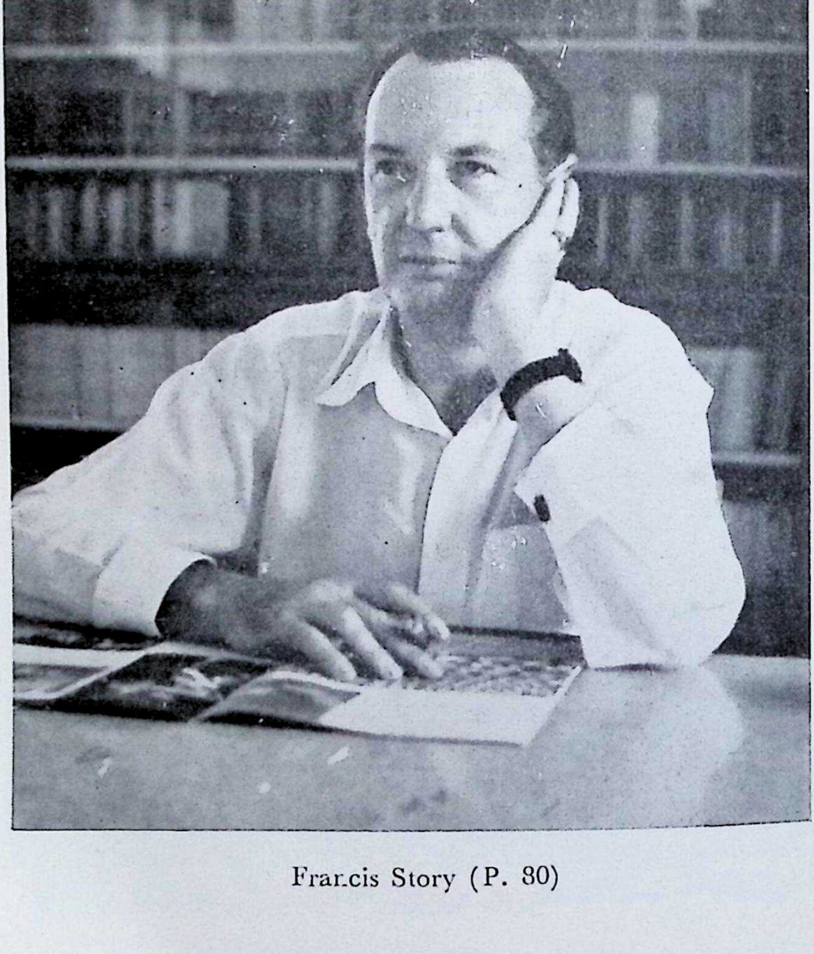
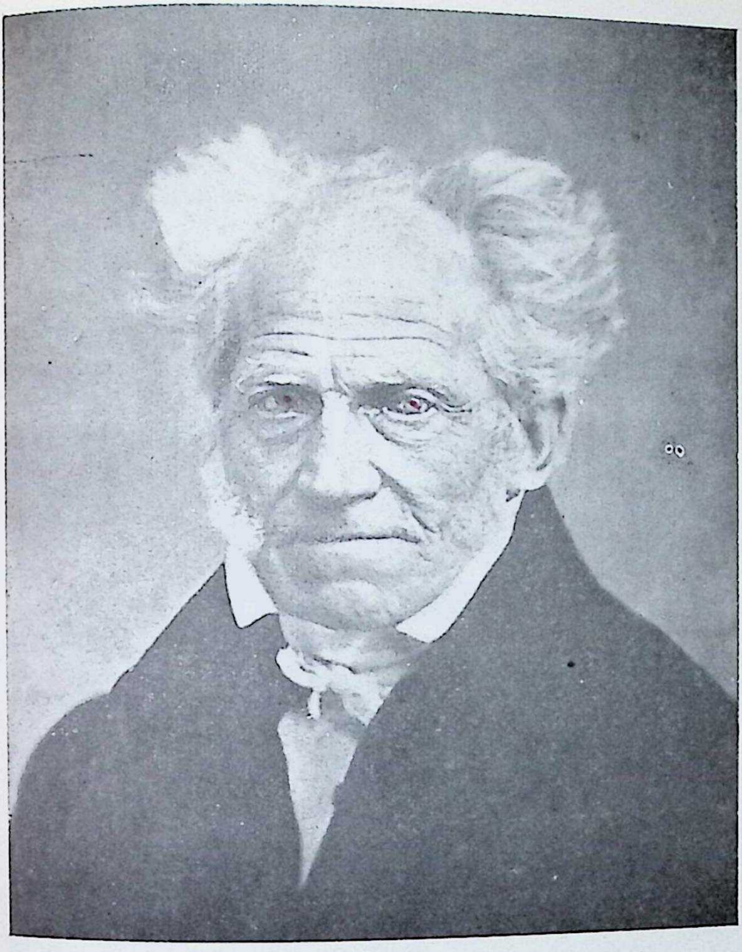


Francis Story (P. 80)



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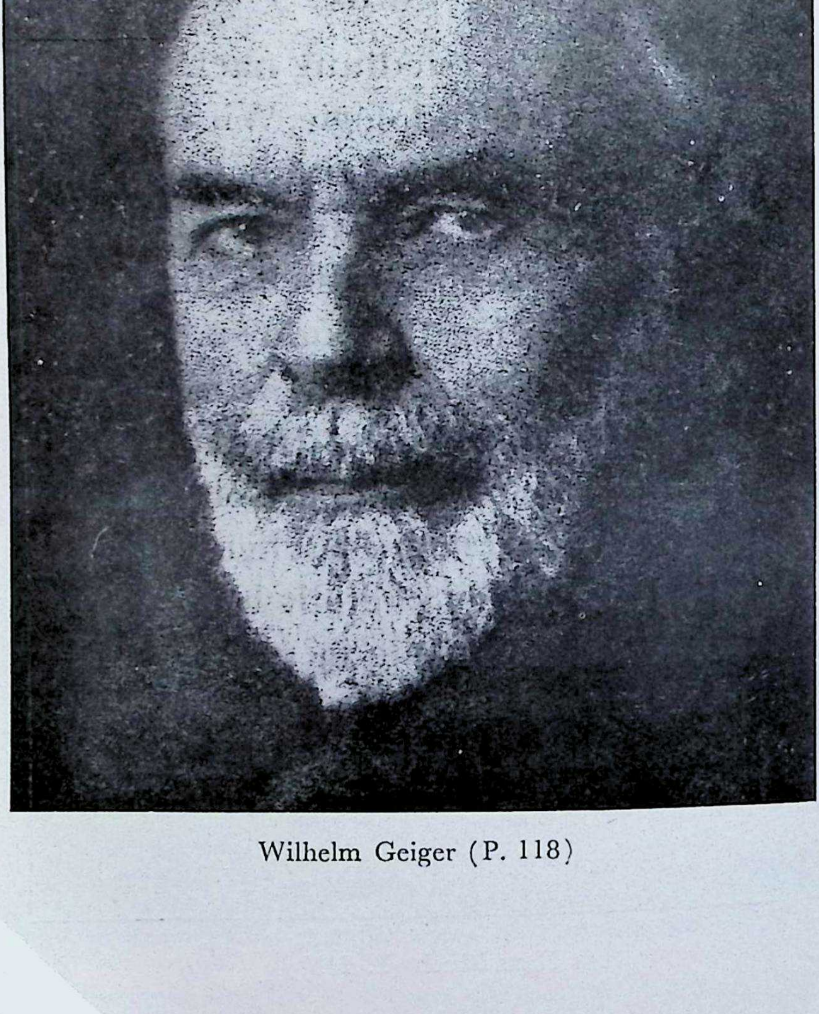

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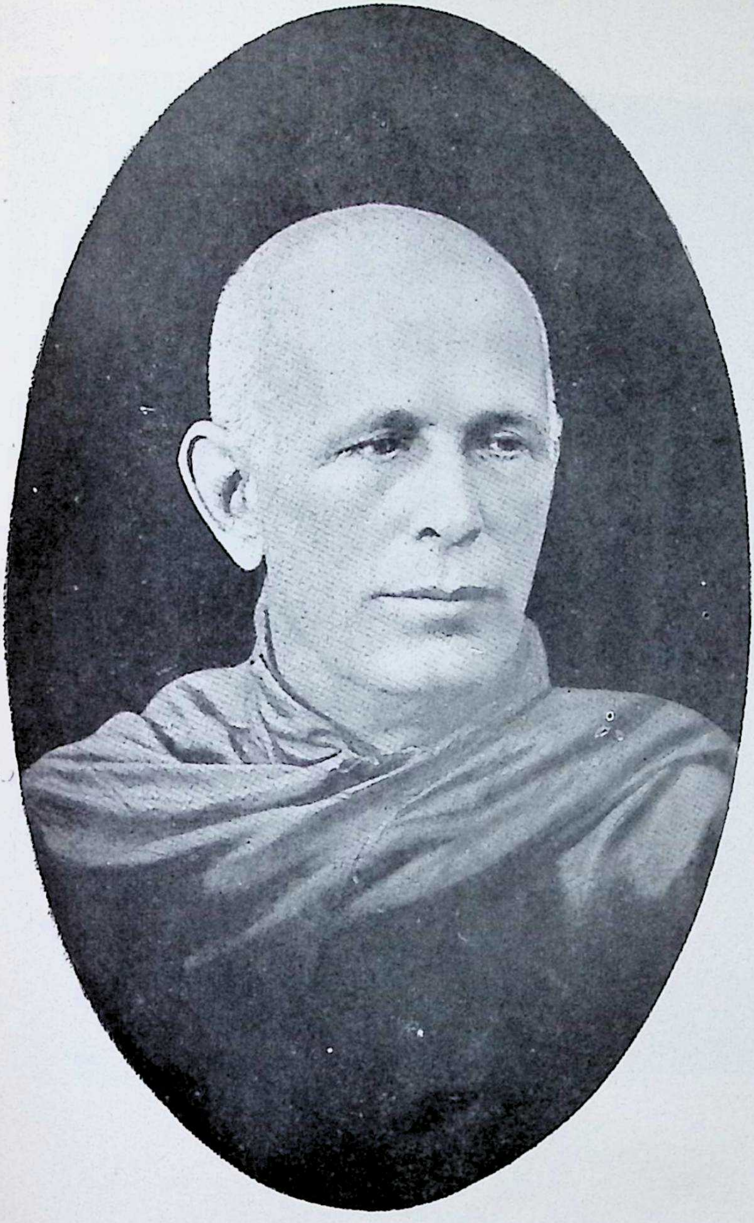

Ven. Nyānatiloka Mahā Thera (P. 139)

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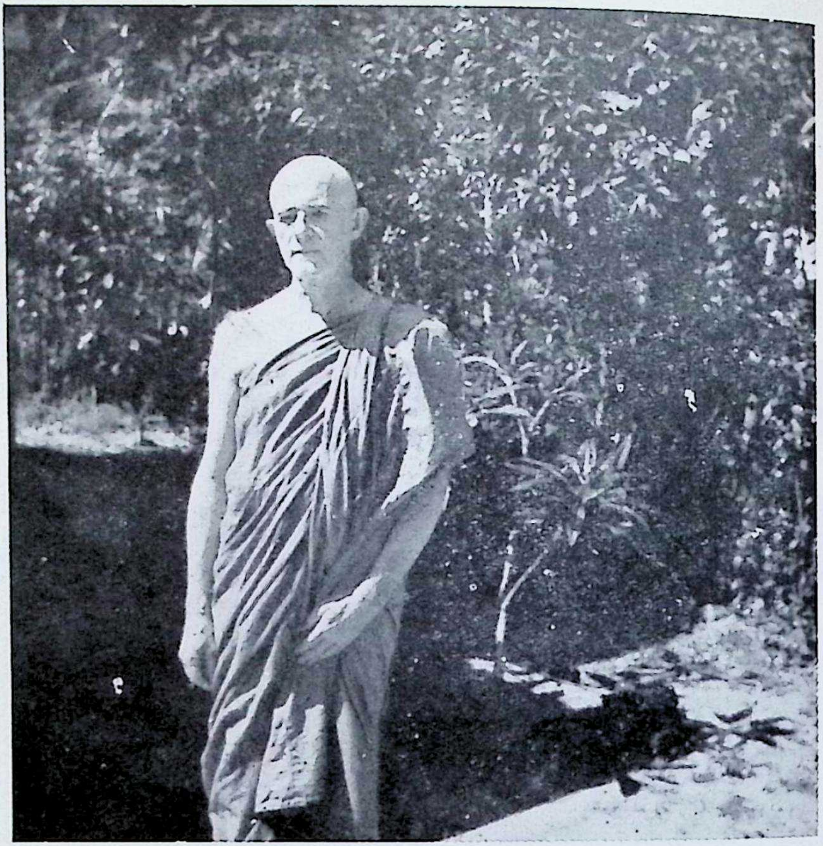
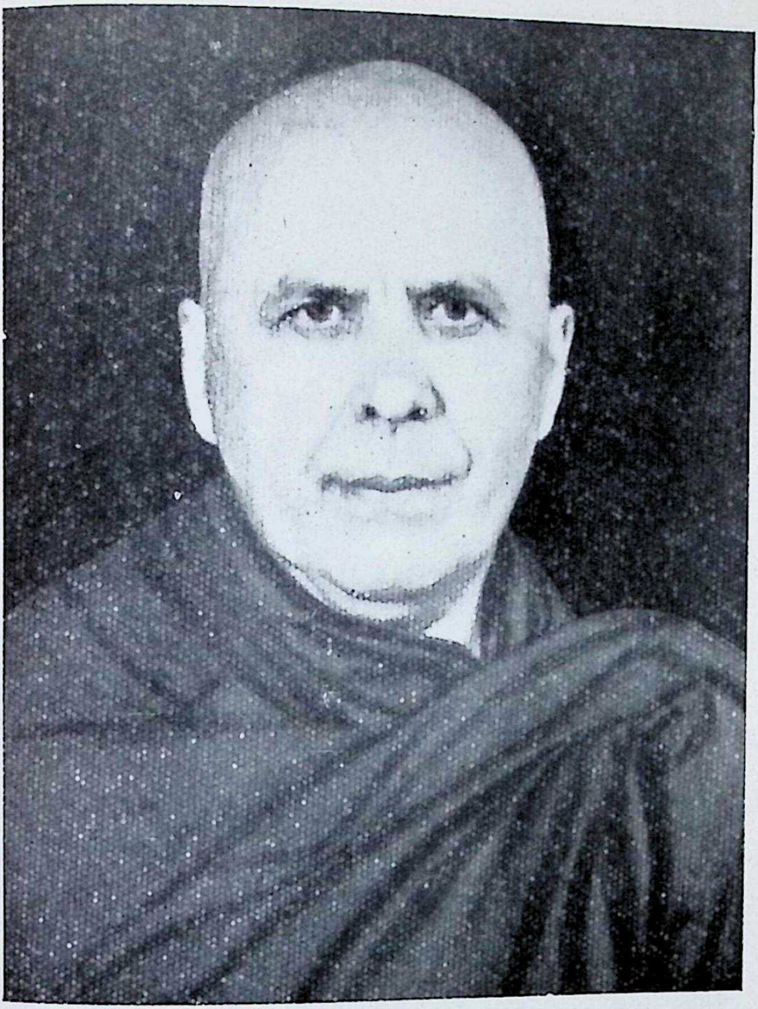


Ven. Nyānaponika Mahā Thera (P. 142)



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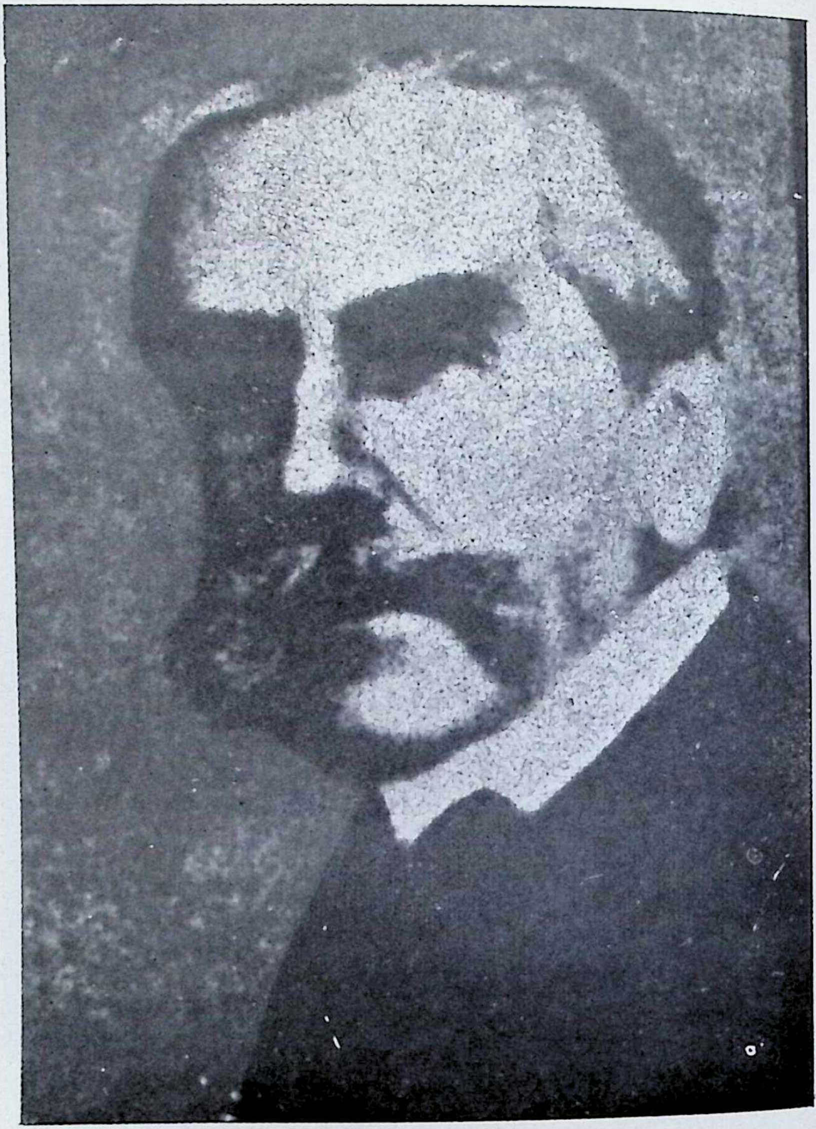

Emile Senart (P. 163)

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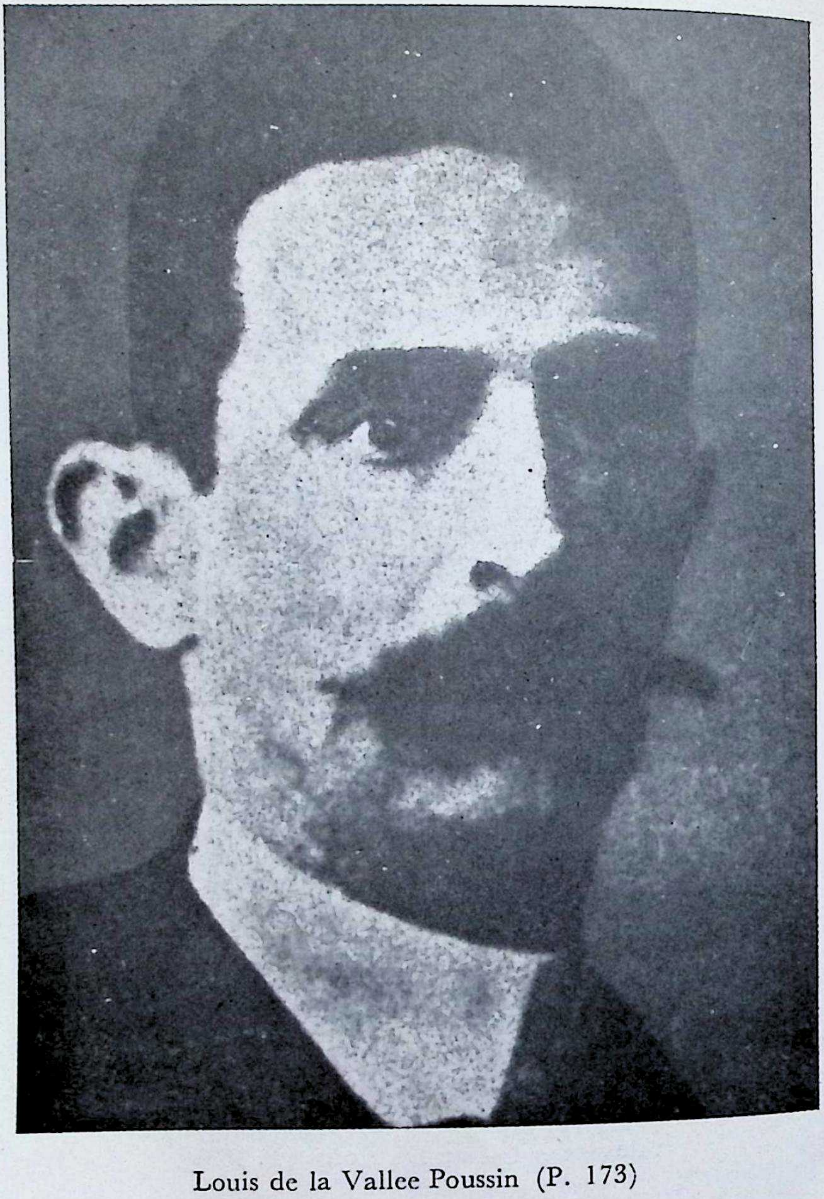

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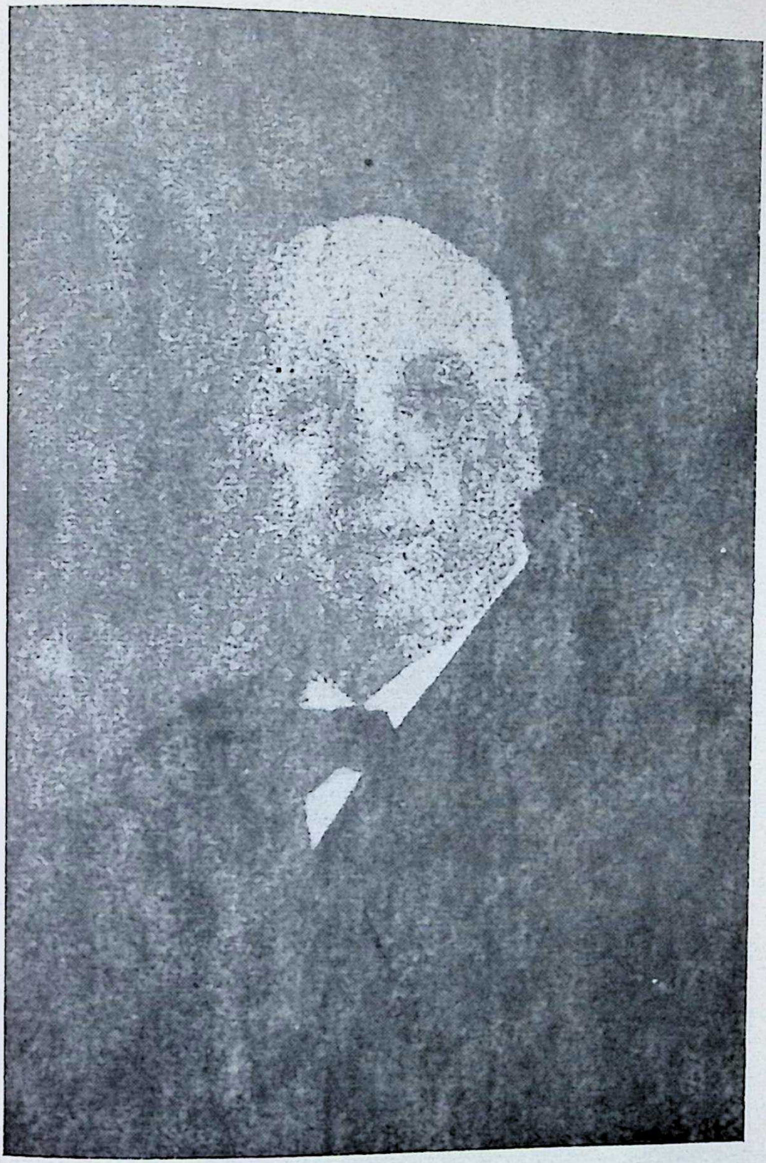
V. Trenckner. (P. 203)



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Paul Tuxen (P. 212)

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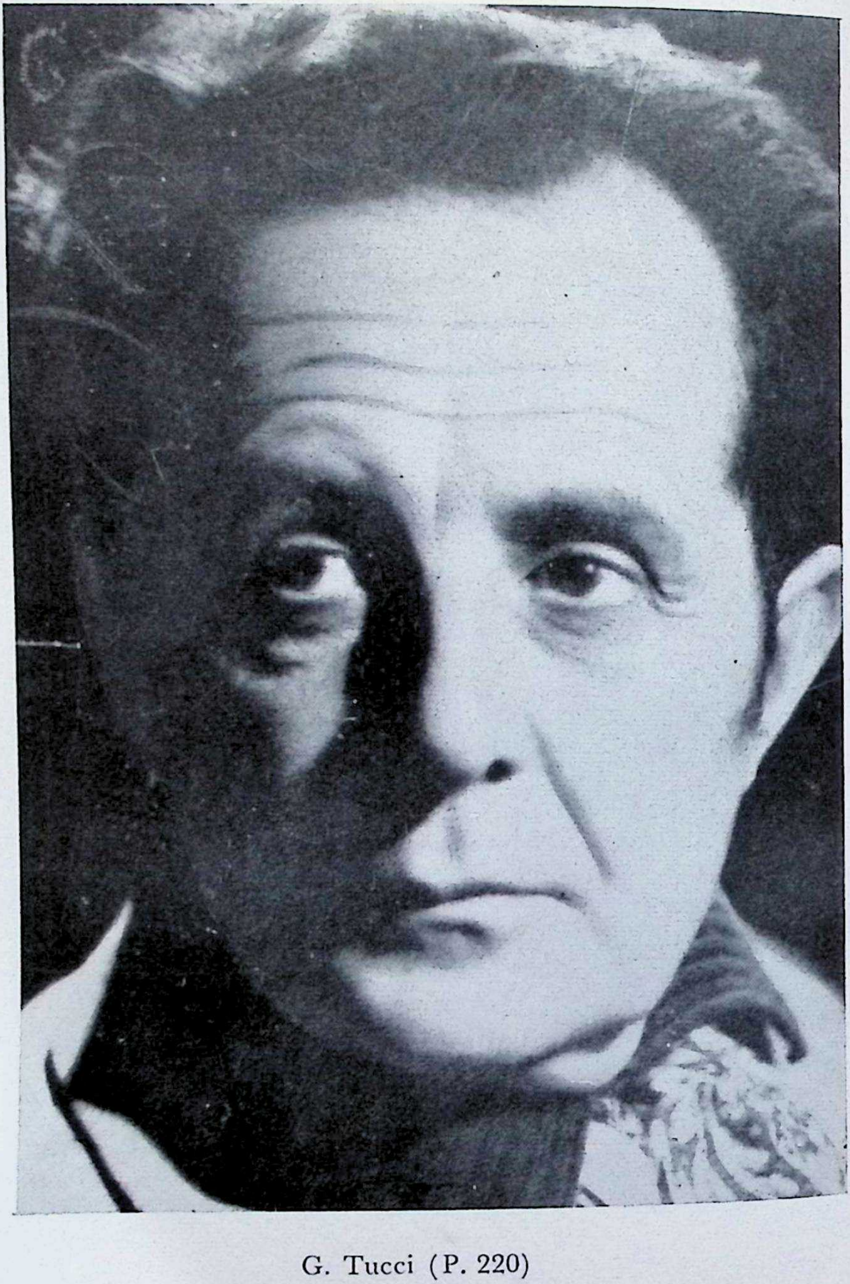

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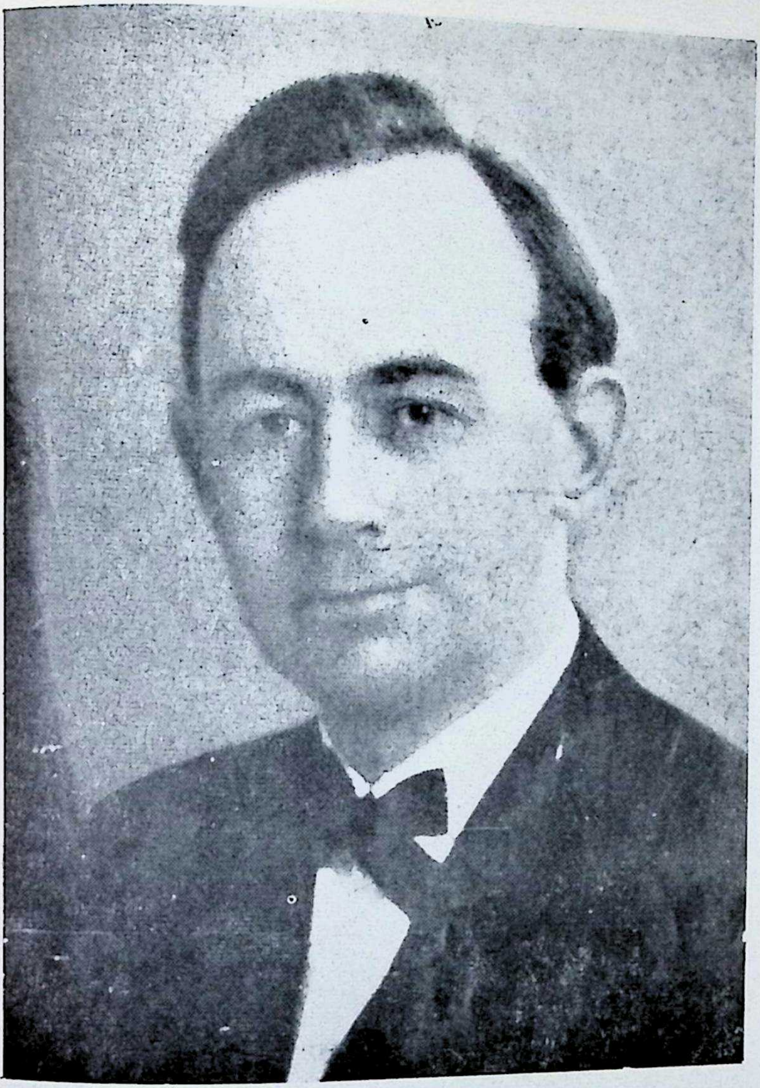

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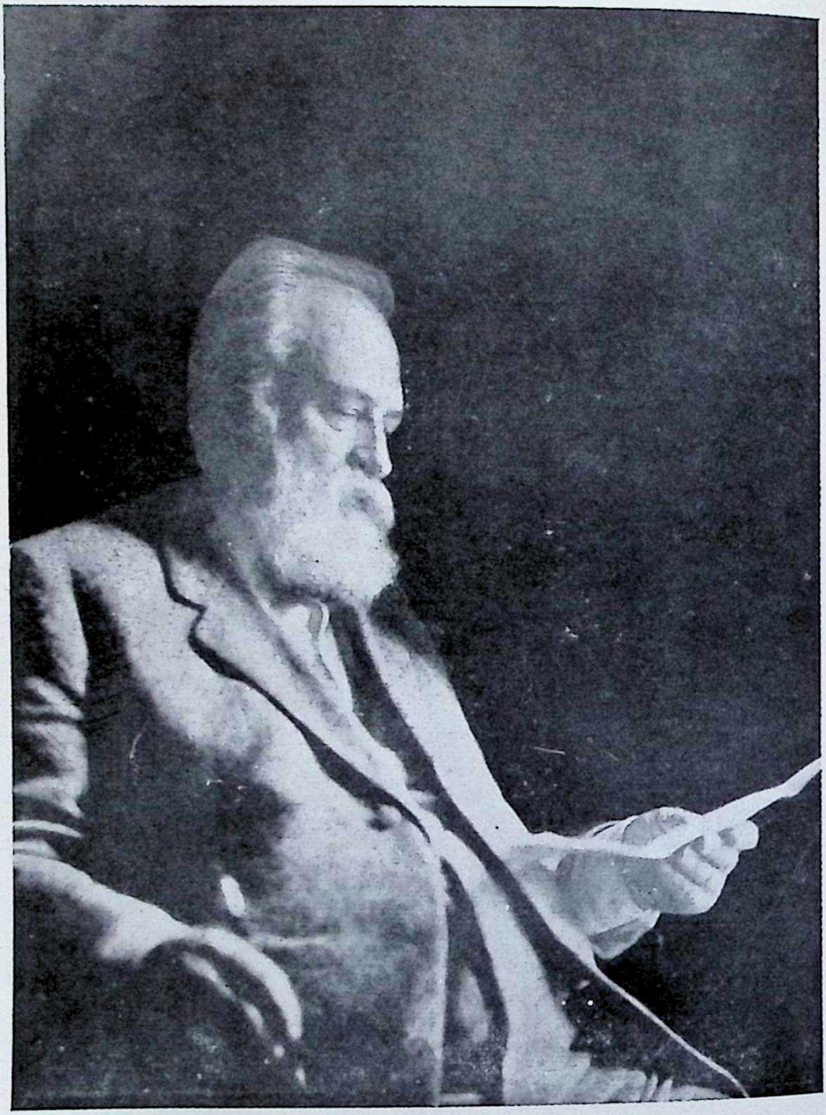
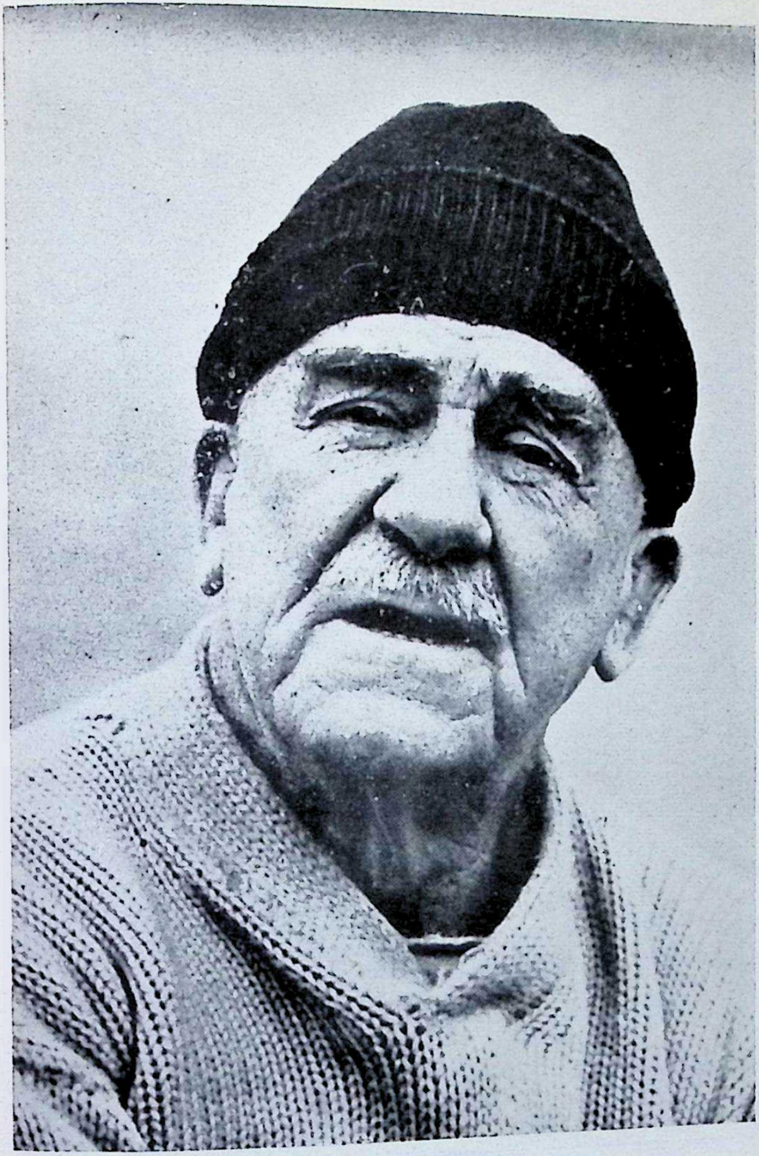


Paul Carus (P. 251)



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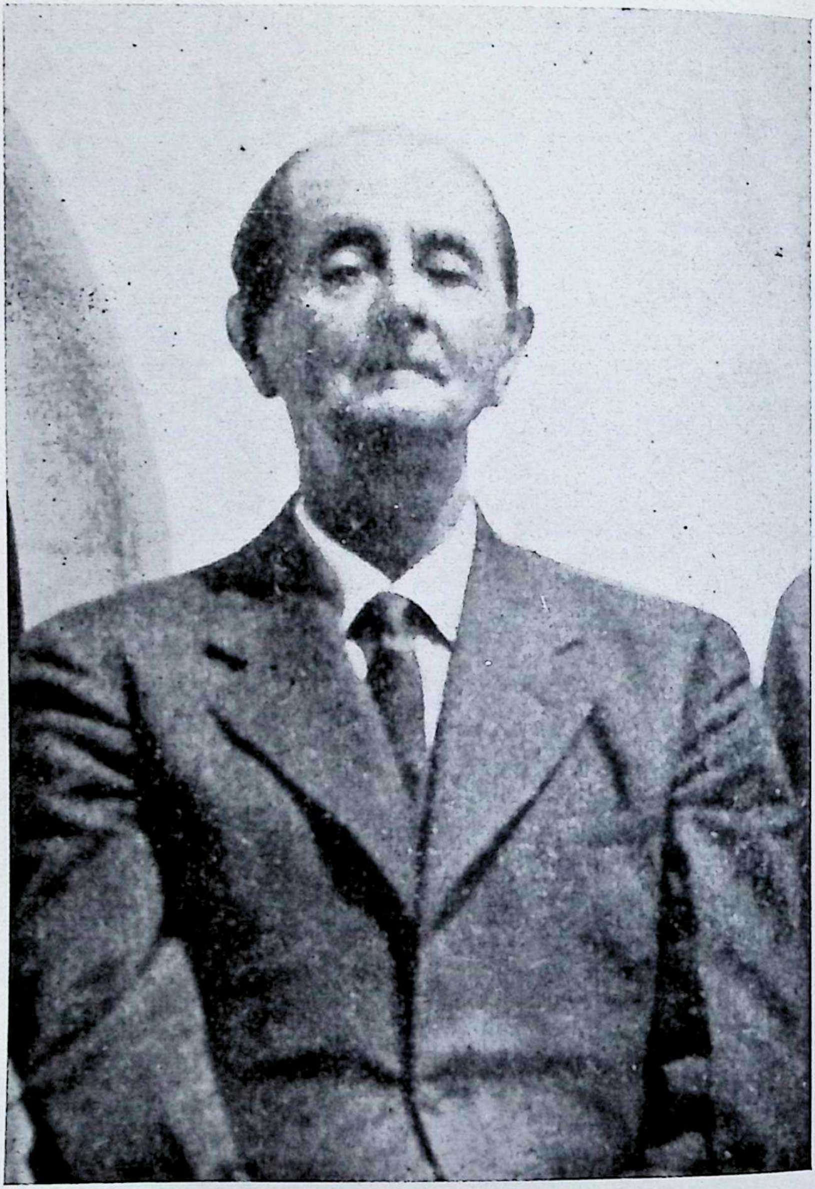

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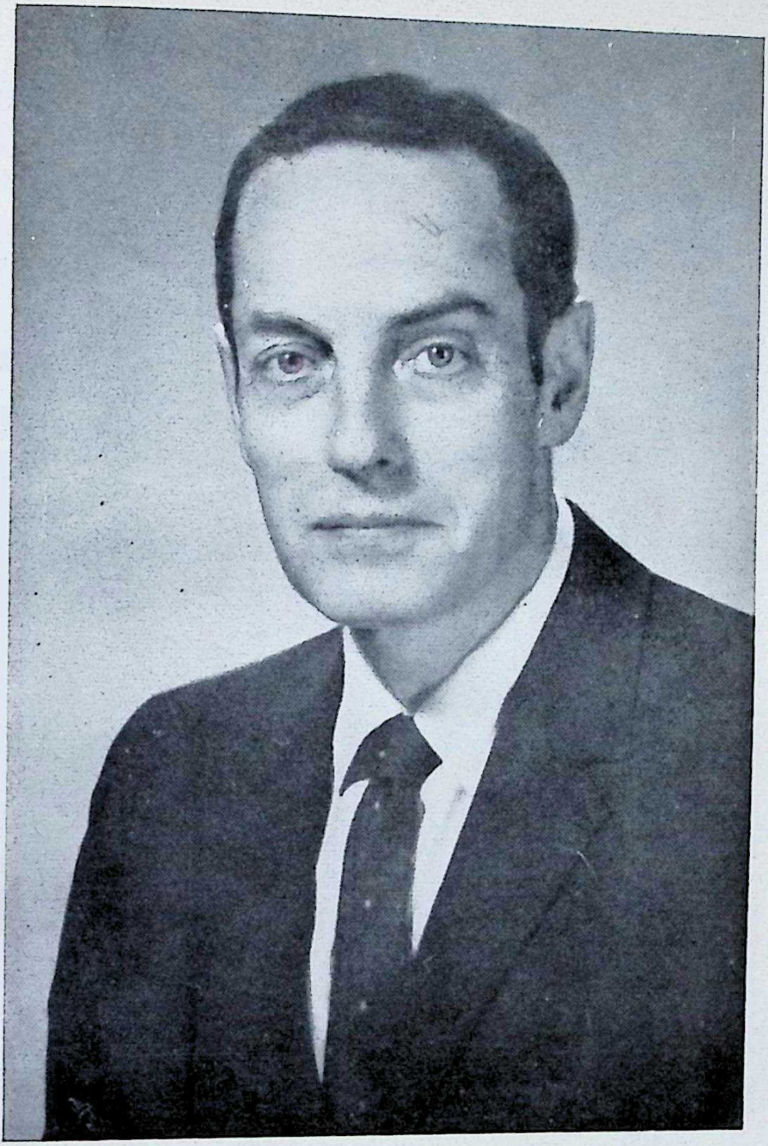

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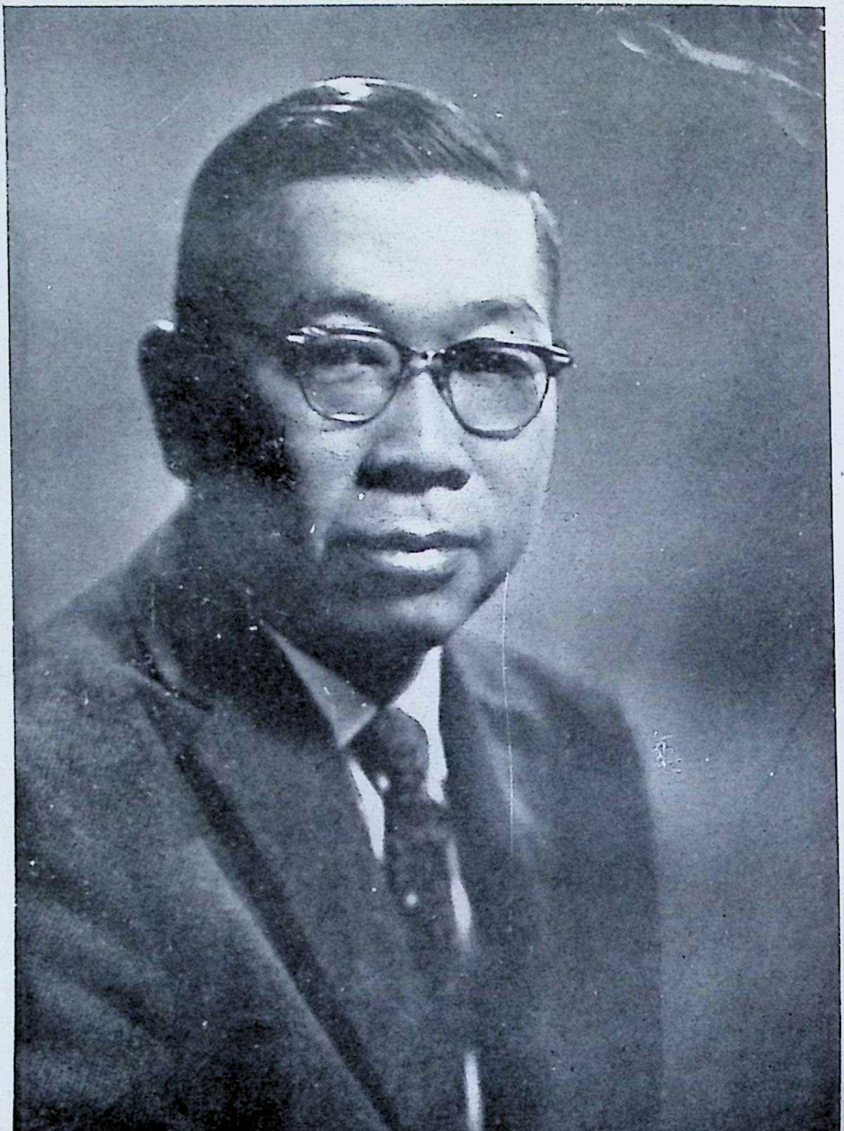

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